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THE

CHRONICLES

OF

THE WHITE ROSE

OF YORK.

A Series of

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS,

PROCLAMATIONS, LETTERS, AND OTHER

CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE REIGN OF

KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

LONDON:

JAMES BOHN, 12, KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND,

MDCCCXLV.

LONDON:
WILLIAM STEVENS, PRINTER, BELL YARD,
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TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

ALBERT EDWARD

PRINCE OF WALES,

THIS VOLUME

RECORDING THE DEEDS OF HIS

ILLUSTRIOUS ANCESTOR

KING EDWARD THE FOURTH

IS INSCRIBED BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'

OBEDIENT AND OBLIGED SERVANT,

THE PUBLISHER.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

I. Advertisement iii

II. Historical Introduction . . . xiii
Siege of Bamburgh Castle . . lxxxvi

III. Hearne's Fragment of an old Chronicle, from 1460 to 1470 5

IV. History of the Arrival of Edward IV. in England, and the final Recovery of his Kingdoms from Henry VI. A.D. 1471 35

V. Dr. John Warkworth's Chronicle of the First thirteen Years of King Edward the Fourth . . . 101

VI. The Last ten Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, extracted from original Letters and Documents 145
Chap. I. His Domestic Habits, courteous Demeanour, and affectionate Care of his Children . . . 145
Chap. II. His Foreign Policy . . . 155
Chap. III. His Domestic Policy . . . 171
Chap. IV. Literature and Art . . . 190
Chap. V. The Royal Brothers, Edward IV. Clarence, and Gloucester 212
Chap. VI. The same subject . . . 241
Chap. VII. The Royal Brothers, Edward IV. and Richard III. 254

VII. Manner and Guiding of the Earl of Warwick at Angiers, from 15 July to 14 Augt. 1470 . . 229

VIII. Appendix. Usurpation of Richard the Third . . 271

IX. Index 283

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

PORTRAIT OF KING EDWARD THE FOURTH, from an original Picture belonging to the Royal Society of Antiquaries, *Frontispiece*

PLAN OF CALAIS, when in possession of the English in the fifteenth Century, from an original sketch . . . xiii

TOURNAMENT OF SMITHFIELD 5

EDWARD THE FOURTH, from the Mirror for Magistrates . 35

EDWARD THE FIFTH, from the same . . . 101

RICHARD THE THIRD, from the same . . . 145

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Historical Documents, written in the Vernacular Language in the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, by eyewitnesses of the transactions they describe, are now first presented to the reader, freed from the repulsive and uncouth orthography of that period. It is acknowledged by all writers of English History, "that our Kingdom has fewer authentic records of the transactions, during the reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Richard III., than of many earlier periods," and that those we have "are confused, mutilated and disjointed. They, who wrote History in those times, had no talents for the task; and there was a ferocity abroad among the partizans of both the rival houses, which prevented many from even assembling the materials of History."

Sir John Fenn's preface to vol. i. of Paston Letters.

Ellis's Original Letters, Second S. vol. i. p. 94.

The introduction of the art of printing, by the facility it afforded to multiply the great works of the Classic ages, rendered them available to all. In thus rescuing the Literature of Greece and Rome from the neglect into which it had fallen during the long period of Norman sway, our early printers and their patrons, consider-

ing the transactions of their own times as of secondary importance, took no pains to perpetuate any records of that period; whilst the writers of Manuscripts, seeing, as it were, their occupation annihilated by the new art, sought employment in other channels.

This is much to be lamented, and there is great probability, that if the documents preserved in many of the houses of the noble families, whose ancestors took part in those stirring events, were carefully examined, much new light would be thrown upon that portion of our History.

The importance of thus examining the MSS. collections which still exist is fully borne out by the publication of the Paston Family Letters, by Sir John Fenn; the Collection of Original Letters, by Sir Henry Ellis; and the Plumpton Correspondence, by Mr. Stapleton. The additional light, thus afforded, by which to estimate the causes of the instability of life and property in those days, alone enables the historian to account for transactions, which, but for such a clue, would be considered little better than the fictions of a romance.

Paston Letters, Ellis's Letters, and Plumpton Correspondence.

To the industry and research of those eminent antiquaries Leland and Hearne we are indebted for the preservation of two of the documents contained in the present volume: Dr. Warkworth's Chronicle and the Historical Fragment, quoted by all our historians. In the Second volume of Leland's Collectanea, First Edition, p. 295, are numerous extracts, amounting to nearly

Warkworth's Chronicle.

a transcript of the former. Mr. Hartshorne in his "Book-rarities of the University of Cambridge," p. 390, has the merit of having discovered, after the lapse of three centuries, the volume extracted from by Leland. Mr. Hunter, in the "Appendix to the Reports of the Record Commission," published in 1837, acting upon the information furnished by Mr. Hartshorne, again pointed out this important volume, and Mr. J. O. Halliwell has recently given a verbatim copy of this Chronicle, preserving it's obsolete orthography, as his contribution to the Camden Society. It is to be regretted that for the sake of the general reader he did not adopt the plan of Sir John Fenn, by placing opposite to the original text, a transcript in more modern spelling. Dr. John Warkworth was Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, from A. D. 1473 to A. D. 1498. From the Register of Donations to the College he appears to have presented his Chronicle in 1483.

Hearne's Fragment.

Hearne's "Fragment of an old English Chronicle," was probably written by a member of the Howard family. The little information which could be obtained respecting it's author, is given at p. 3, in the short notice prefixed to the Chronicle itself. The writer was evidently a person of consideration, and a staunch Yorkist. The date of it's compilation must have been between the years 1500 and 1522, as Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, to whom he refers as Lord Treasurer, held that office during that period.

The History of the Arrival of Edward IV. A.D. 1471.

"The History of the Arrival of Edward IV. in England and the final Recovery of his Kingdoms from Henry VI. A. D. 1471," is preserved in Stowe's Transcripts (*Harl. MSS.*, No. 543.) By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A. has given an accurate transcript to the Members of the Camden Society. However important a document may be, it loses half it's utility if not accompanied by such a Key as will render it available to the general reader. In the present case the many barbarous words, and most uncouth spelling particularly require such aid. In copying out this most valuable Yorkist Memoir, the orthography of the present day has been adopted, and the interpretation of all obsolete words given within brackets (*in italic letters*), whilst the many redundant terms which would otherwise confuse, are inclosed within brackets of this description [ ]. Whatever information could be obtained of the Anonymous writer is prefixed to the Narrative itself. The slur he attempts to cast upon the dying Warwick is unworthy of a noble mind, and from the total absence of a personal reference to the important battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, it may reasonably be concluded that the author followed a more peaceable calling than that of arms. Mr. Sharon Turner, who never uses secondary evidence in his invaluable History, where Contemporary records are obtainable, has availed himself of our Narrative. Though transcribed by Stowe from Mr. Fleetwood's book, our

Turner's History, vol. v. p. 338, note.

industrious Annalist does not appear to have made use of it in his own chronicle.

To Sir Henry Ellis we are indebted for "THE MANNER AND GUIDING OF THE EARL OF WARWICK AT ANGIERS, which is here merely put into modern spelling, in other respects only transcribed from his Collection of Original Letters, vol. I. p. 132, Second Series. Manner and Guiding of the Earl of Warwick.

In selecting facts from ORIGINAL LETTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS of the period the Editor's object was to furnish the evidence of eye witnesses as to the transactions of the last years of the eventful reign of Edward the Fourth. Original Letters of the period.

THE NARRATIVE OF THE VISIT OF LORD GRAUTHUSE, Earl of Winchester, Governor of Holland, to Edward the Fourth in 1472, is a graphic picture of the domestic life of our Sovereigns in the fifteenth century. It was communicated by Sir Frederick Madden to the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and published by them in the 26th volume of the Archæologia. Lord Grauthuse's Visit to King Edward IV.

STOWE'S TRANSCRIPTS, preserved in the British Museum; MS. L. 9 in the College of Arms, containing an account of the siege of Bamburgh Castle in 1464; and the Close Rolls, X. Edward IV. are the principal MSS. authorities quoted in the Introduction, which contains a cursory sketch of those events, consequent on the Marriage of Henry the Sixth with Margaret of Anjou, which ultimately led to the dethronement of the former, and the accession of Edward the Fourth to the throne. The subjoined list of Authorities will furnish the reader with Stowe's Transcripts, etc.

the means of obtaining all the information he may desire concerning this most eventful period of our History; though he must ever bear in mind the party bias of the writers, particularly of those whose narratives were compiled after the downfall of Richard the Third, during the succeeding reigns of the Tudor Dynasty. The Editor has endeavoured to bring into chronological order the scattered fragments of various authors, introducing letters, proclamations, and other documents of the time, and has thus, in a great measure, been enabled to give the History of the Rise and Fall of the House of York in the words of eye witnesses. Should this volume meet with encouragement from the literary public, a similar collection of the disjointed fragments, having reference to the reigns of the three Sovereigns of the House of Lancaster, will follow under the title of "The Chronicles of the Red Rose."

A

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES,

QUOTED IN THE ENSUING PAGES.

1. Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum, (*cura Fell*) folio *Oxonii* 1684
   This volume contains: Historiæ Croylandiæ Continuatio.
2. Liber Niger Scaccarii, cura Th. Hearnii, 2 vols. 8vo. *Oxonii* 1728
   The Second volume contains: Wilhelmi Wyrcestri Annales.
3. Lelandi Collectanea, edidit Th. Hearne, 6 vols. 8vo. *Oxonii* 1716
   The Second volume contains: Warkworth's additions to Caxton's Chronicle.
4. Rossi Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliæ, cura Th. Hearne; 8vo. . . . . *Oxonii* 1716
5. Sprotti Chronica, cura Tho. Hearnii, 8vo. . *Oxonii* 1719
   At the end of this volume is contained the curious Fragment given at p. 5.
6. Otterbourne et Whethemstede de Rebus Anglicis, (*temp. Edwardi IV.*) cura T. Hearne; 2 vols. 8vo. . *Oxonii* 1732
   In the Second volume will also be found: Jo. Blackman Collectarium Mansuetudinum et Bonorum Morum Regis Henrici VI.
7. Polydori Vergilii Historia Anglica; 2 vols. small 8vo.
   Gandavi, s. a.
8. Memoires de Philippe de Commines; 18mo.
   Amst. (*Elzevier*) 1648
9. Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. in England, and the finall Recoverye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI. A.D. M,CCCC,LXXI. edited by J. Bruce, Esq. 4to. *Lond.* 1838
10. Warkworth's Chronicle of the First thirteen Years of King Edward the Fourth, edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq. 4to. *ib.* 1839
11. Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, vol. xxvi. 4to. . . . . *Lond.* 1835
    In this volume is found an account of Lord Grauthuse's visit to King Edward the Fourth.
12. Ellis's Original Letters, illustrative of English History; Second Series; 4 vols. 8vo. . . . *Lond.* 1827
    The first volume contains an Account of the Manner and Guiding of the Earl of Warwick at Angiers.
13. Original Letters written during the Reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Richard III. (chiefly by members of the Paston Family;) edited by Sir John Fenn; 5 vols. 4to.
    Lond. 1787—1823

14. Excerpta Historica, Historical Illustrations of the Reign of Edward the Fourth; edited by W. H. Black, Esq. roy. 8vo. 1830
15. Habington's Historie of King Edward the Fourth. *Lond.* 1640
16. The Poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi; edited by the Rev. J. Jones, and the Rev. W. Davies; 8vo. . . 1838
This volume contains an Introductory Essay on the Wars of the Rival Roses, by Mr. Jones.
17. Fabyan's Chronicle, or Concordance of Histories; folio. *Lond.* 1559
18. Hardyng's Chronicle, with Continuation; 4to. *Lond.* 1543
19. Grafton's Chronicle at large, etc. folio . *Lond.* 1569
20. Hall's Union of the two noble and illustrious Families of Lancaster and York; folio . *Lond.* 1550
21. Holinshed's Chronicles, with Continuation; 2 vols. fol. *Lond.* 1586
22. Stowe's Abridgment of the English Chronicle; 8vo. *Lond.* 1618
23. Henry's History of Great Britain, 12 vols. 8vo. *Lond.* 1814
24. Rapin's History of England, with Tindal's Continuation; 21 vols. 8vo. . . . . *Lond.* 1757—59
25. Hume's History of England; 8 vols. 8vo. . *Lond.* 1783
26. Turner's History of England, during the Middle-Ages, 3 vols. 4to. (vol. III.) . . . *Lond.* 1814—26
Forming vols. 3, 4, & 5, of his History of England.
27. Lingard's History of England; 8 vols. 4to. (vol. III.) *Lond.* 1819—29
28. Rotuli Parliamenti, published by the Commissioners of Public Records; 6 vols. folio . . *Lond.* 1805—12
29. Rymeri Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Acta Publica; 20 vols. folio . . . . *Lond.* 1704—35
30. Rapin's Acta Regia, an Account of the Treaties, Letters, and Instruments published in Rymer's Foedera; folio *Lond.* 1732
31. Prynne's Exact Abridgement of the Records in the Tower of London, originally compiled by Sir Robt. Cotton; folio *Lond.* 1657
32. England's Happiness in a Lineal Succession of the Crown, etc. (the Bloody Wars between the Two Houses of York and Lancaster;) 12mo. . . . *Lond.* 1685
33. Memoires d'Angleterre, contenant l'Histoire des deux Roses, etc. 18mo. . . . . *Amst.* 1726
34. Dugdale's Baronage of England; 2 vols. folio. *Lond.* 1675—76
35. Beatson's Political Index, to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland; 3 vols. 8vo. . . . *Lond.* 1806

Sir Walter Scott's novel of Quentin Durward; Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England, vol. iii.; Bulwer's Last of the Barons; and Prevost Vie de Marguerite d'Anjou; embrace the same period of history.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING A

CURSORY SKETCH

OF THE EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE

DETHRONEMENT OF HENRY THE SIXTH

AND THE

Coronation of Edward the Fourth.

Compiled from Original Documents.

Calais while in the hands of the English.

From a Drawing taken in 1546 preserved in the Cottonian MS. Aug. I.

INTRODUCTION.

The Civil Wars of the Two Houses of York and Lancaster may be said to have commenced with the Usurpation of Bolingbroke A.D. 1399 and to have continued to the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485. The events, however, which ultimately led to the expulsion of the Red Rose, and the exaltation of it's paler rival must be traced to the marriage[1] of Henry the Sixth with Margaret of Anjou in 1444. The Earl of Suffolk, William de la Pole, who had been employed in negociating this marriage in France, was created Marquis and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, and so ingratiated himself, both with the King and Queen, that he gradually supplanted all his colleagues. The Cardinal Beaufort had already retired in disgust from the Court, and the King's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, seldom attended the council, but to oppose the plans, or to protect himself from the intrigues of the royal favourite. Misunderstandings consequently arose between the uncle and nephew, which increased to such a degree, that on the

A.D 1444.

The Earl of Suffolk negociates the Marriage of Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou.

(*Whethamstede*, p. 367.)

[1] "After this spousage the King's friends fell from him; the lords of his realm fell into divisions amongst themselves; the commons rebelled against their natural prince; fields were fought; many thousands slain; and finally the King deposed, his son slain, and his Queen sent home again, with as much misery and sorrow, as she was received with pomp and triumph."—(*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 205.) "A. D. 1444 and in the 23rd year of King Henry VI. he married the Princess, the daughter of the King of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem in the Abbey of Titchfield, in the county of Southampton. On the 30th of May 1445 was the Coronation of Margaret, Queen to Henry the Sixth, at Westminster. And after the Coronation, for three days there were held before the Sanctuary at Westminster noble sports for Lords and People, the King and Queen gracing them with their presence. And in the same year the Earl of Stafford was created Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Warwick, Duke of Warwick."—(*W. Wyrcester*, pp. 462, 463.)

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A.D. 1447. Parliament of Bury St. Edmunds, 10th Feb. 1447. Arrest and Death of Gloucester, Feb. 28th.

Parliament[2] having assembled at Bury-St.-Edmunds, on the 10th of February, 1447, to which Gloucester had repaired from his castle of Devizes, he was arrested on a charge of high-treason, by Lord Beaumont, Constable of England, and seventeen days afterwards found dead in his bed, without any marks of violence.[3] It was said that he died of apoplexy, though it was suspected that he had been privately murdered by the orders of Suffolk. In considering this event more fully in "*the Chronicles of the Red Rose,*" we shall probably be enabled to prove, on the authority of his friend, Abbot Whethamstede, that he died, in the words of the conscientious and religious Henry, "touched and stricken by God, as disloyal to his King." Within six weeks of his nephew's death, the Cardinal Beaufort expired at his palace of Wolvesey, distributing his immense wealth chiefly in charitable bequests, of which the Hospital of St. Cross, at Winchester still attests his munificence. The highly wrought scene of this prelate's death-bed, is a fiction of our immortal poet, founded upon the improbable account given by Hall. An eyewitness furnishes us with these last particulars of his life. "Three weeks after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, the Cardinal ordered himself to

Death of Cardinal Beaufort, April 11th.

[2] "The Knights of the shire received orders to come in arms: the men of Suffolk were arrayed: numerous guards were placed round the King's residence: and patroles during the night watched all the roads leading to the town."—(*Lingard*, vol. iii. p. 450.)

[3] "A parliament held at Bury, where Humphrey the good Duke of Gloucester died, the friend of virtue and of his country; but chiefly the staunch promoter of the clergy."—(*W. Wyrcester*, p. 463.) "His arrest and close custody threw him into a sickness, which destroyed him in a few days."—(*Whethamstede*, p. 365.) "He died on 23rd of February, 1447."—(*W. Wyrcester*, p. 464.) "For his honourable and liberal demeanour he was named the good Duke of Gloucester."—(*Fabyan*, p. 444.) "Leo Aretino dedicated to him his translation of Aristotle's Politics; Peter de Monte, his book on Virtue and Vice; Castellio his Work on the Comparison of Study and a Military Life; Peter Candidus his translation of Plato's Republics. He was the patron of Lydgate, the Poet, and Titus Livius, the Historian." "He was buried at St. Albans."—(*Stowe*, p. 174.)

"Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of England, brother to King Henry the Fourth, died on the 11th of April 1447."—(*W. Wyrcester*, p. 464.) "He was greatly distinguished amongst all the nobility for his probity, wisdom, riches, and glory."—(*Hist. Croyl. Cont.* p. 521.)

be carried into the great hall of his palace of Wolvesey, where the clergy of the city and the monks of the Cathedral were assembled. There he was placed, whilst the dirge was chaunted, the funeral service performed, and his will read publicly.[4] The next morning they assembled again: the mass of Requiem was celebrated, and his will was again read, with several new codicils." His executor offered the King a present of £2000 (equal in value to £20,000 in the present day,) which the King refused saying: "He was always a most kind uncle to me, whilst he lived: God reward him: Fulfil his intentions: I will not take his money." It was presented to Eton College, and King's College Cambridge, which Henry had just founded.

A.D. 1447. (*Hist. Croyl. Contin.* p. 582.)

(*Blackman, apud Hearne,* p. 294.)

Thus within a few weeks were removed two of the principal supporters of the House of Lancaster, and though the uncle and nephew were violently opposed to each other, their one bond of unity was the upholding of the descendant of Henry the Fourth on the throne of his grandfather, who had raised their House to the crown.

Henry was doomed to experience a harder fate than had fallen to the lot of any of our Sovereigns before. Married to one of the most beautiful and accomplished women in Europe, whose affection met a mutual return in the King's breast, he had a right to anticipate a happy future. But the circumstance of Anjou and Maine having been ceded to her father gave rise to serious discontent. From Dr. James's MS. extracts from Dr. Gascoigne's Manuscript, preserved in the British Museum, "we glean the angered and disrespectful feelings with which the criticising part of the nation now contemplated that event, and the remarks they made upon it." Dr. Gascoigne was Chancellor of the Univer-

Unpopularity of Henry's marriage.

(*Cotton MSS. Vitellius,* p. 156.)

[4] His wealth was immense. "He appears to have lent to the crown in one year, £20,000; in the next £10,000; and in another £50,000. Afterwards £6000; £18,000; 9000 marcs, and 7000 marcs, and to have given the King 13,350 marcs for some castles and manors."—(*Turner*, vol. iii. p. 152.)

A.D. 1447. sity of Oxford at the time. "Lately," he says, "in a certain Kingdom, a woman was married to a certain King, and the person who contracted this marriage, by a secret and false compact, alienated a great duchy from this Kingdom."—"England received no advantage with Queen Margaret, but the loss of Anjou and Maine, which her husband Henry VI. gave for her under his great seal to the King, her father."—"The King and Council authorized Adam Molins, the Bishop of Chichester, to give up these Provinces, who delivered them to René her father." At first no notice was taken of these complaints, but they became louder and louder, and Suffolk's name was coupled with them. He demanded to be confronted with his accusers in presence of the King and Council. He obtained the required hearing, and was pronounced not guilty. A Royal Proclamation enjoined silence on his accusers.

May 25th. Suffolk faces his accusers. —(*Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 203-6.)

Cession of Anjou.

Some difficulties arose as to the terms of the cession of Anjou. Charles determining to bring the matter to an issue invested it's Capital with an army. The Bishop of Chichester was sent over, and delivered up the entire Province, stipulating for a truce of two years, and that the English, who held grants of land should receive the value of a ten years purchase. Henry at the same time made a protest that he did not resign the sovereignty of Anjou, but only it's actual possession, on condition that the revenue should be enjoyed by René and Charles of Anjou, the father and uncle of Queen Margaret. The consequences of having thus ceded these important provinces was the entire loss of Normandy. The aspiring Charles availed himself of the circumstance of a party of soldiers, who had been thrown out of employ by the cession of Anjou, having pillaged the town of Fougeres,[5] in

Loss of Normandy.

---

[5] "In 1448, an English Knight named Sir Francis de Aragonis took a town of Normandy named Fogiers, (*Fougeres, in Bretagne,*) against the truce; and this was the occasion that after(*wards*) the Frenchmen got all Normandy."—(*Stowe*, p. 174.)

Bretagne, to demand so exhorbitant a sum as compensation, that the impossibility of it's payment might afford him a pretext for breaking the truce. The Duke of Somerset applied through the Abbot of Gloucester in Parliament for succours in 1448, and as this masterly composition is one of the finest specimens of the English language of that period it is given here entire. A.D. 1448.

Somerset's application to Parliament for succours.—(*Harleian MSS.* No. 16, p. 162.)

"*Credence by my Lord of Somerset, Lieutenant of France and Normandy, committed to the Lord Hastings, Chancellor of France, and the Abbot of Gloucester, opened by the mouth of the said Abbot, in the Parliament by the King's Commandment, both to the Lords and to the Commons.*"

"It is not unknown to your great discretions, how it liked our sovereign Lord not long ago, to commit the governance of the country now being under his obeisance in his realm of France and Dutchy of Normandy, to the high and mighty Prince my Lord of Somerset. The which prince in his notable wisdom seeing by experience the great continual and daily dangers, that there be done by the adversaries;—seeing also the very likelihood within short time of intollerable hurt thereof, unless then convenable and speedful remedy be prudently purveyed here: sent hither my Lord Hastings Chancellor of France, and me in his company, with letters of Credence to our sovereign Lord; to let his Highness have knowledge of the doubtful and dangerous disposition of that country; the which Credence as compendiously as I can I shall open to your wisdoms.

Our Credence containeth principally three things. The first is to show the great puissance, and long advised ordinance furnished with all manner of habiliments of war of the adverse party; the which daily fortify, repair and stuff all their garrisons within the frontiers of the King's obeisance, armed in great numbers against the tenor of the truce; doing murders innumerable, taking

1.

A.D. 1448. Somerset's application to Parliament.

the King's subjects prisoners, as (*if*) it were pleyn (*open*) war, with other great and lamentable injuries, as open robberies, oppressions and pillages without number. Of the which offences they have been divers times summoned and required by my said Lord of Somerset to make cease, and repair them after the tenor of the truce; but neither remedy nor reasonable answer, may in any wise as yet be had. Wherefore it may be presupposed by their froward deeds, and contrarious disposition, that their intention is not to proceed effectual to any good conclusion of peace. Also the King's uncle hath commanded and made cry throughout all his obeisance; that all nobles prepare them to be ready horsed and armed, in all wise habitted as belongeth to men of arms, within fifteen days warning; upon pain of forfeiture, of all their livelihood the number of which men is great and inestimable. Also the King's uncle hath commanded to be cried in every parish of his obeisance under the same pain of forfeiture, that every thirty men furnish a man horsed and armed in briganders[6] and legernesse with a long bow, or a cross bow; and charged expressly that they do none other labours but exercise them to their said bows and harness; the number of which men so habitted and arrayed, as it is said by credible persons, that of reason should thereof have very knowledge, exceedeth forty thousand men. This is the first part of our Credence.

II The second part of our Credence is to show, that (if the war should fall, as God defends,) the country of Normandy is in no wise of itself sufficient to make resistance against the great puissance of the said adversary for many great considerations. First, for there is no place in the King's obeisance there purveyed, neither in reparations, ordinance nor in any manner (*of*) artillery; but well

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[6] Armour consisting of many-jointed scale-like plates very pliant and easy for the body.—(*Richardson.*)

nigh all places be in such ruin that though they were stuffed with men and ordinance they be so ruinous, that they be unable to be defended and kept. The which reparation and ordinance to be purveyed sufficiently will draw to inestimable costs. Also, by the last grant of the aid in Normandy, it was openly proposed by three estates there, that the general poverty of the country was so great, that it was impossible for them to bear any more hereafter such charges as they have borne heretofore; wherefore they desired to have the number of men of war made less, or else to shew to the King's Highness, that there might be had goods of England to bear the same charges. For of necessity they said, they must be spared for certain years of such payments, or else they must be needly constrained to go their way and forsake their country, and suffer the land to be abandoned to the adversaries, the which God ever defend. This is the second part of our Credence. A.D. 1448. Somerset's application to Parliament.

The third part is to remember, that the final term of the last truce approacheth fast. For as your wisdoms have well in mind, it shall last now not to four months. And therefore it is thought high time to begin your purveyance, for the safeguard of that noble land. Wherefore my Lord of Somerset most humbly beseecheth the King's Highness, tenderly prayeth all my Lords his counsellors, wisheth, willeth all your wisdoms, to have that noble land in your good and special remembrance, calling to mind the great, inestimable and well nigh infinite costs and effusions both of goods and blood, that this land hath born and suffered for that land's sake. Whereof the shameful loss (the which God ever defend) shall not only be the irreparable hurt of the common profit, but also an everlasting spite and perpetual derogation in the fame and renown of this noble realm. In eschewing whereof, and also least his silence in that behalf might in any wise be laid to his charge hereafter; my said Lord of Somerset for his true acquittal, gave us in com- III.

A.D. 1448. Somerset's application to Parliament.

mandment to open his Credence on this behalf to the King's Highness, or to such as it pleased his Grace to command to hear us.

Wherefore, as by his commandment ye have benignly heard us, as we have in the name of my Lord of Somerset in the most humble wise besought the King's Highness, and hereby prayed all my Lords in this parliament assembled; in like wise tenderly we desire all your wisdoms that now represent all the Commons of this land; that it like you to weigh well all the considerations of this Credence in your great discretions; and so help to pursue such aid, remedy, and brief expedition, as the merits of this matter requireth."

A.D. 1449.

It has been objected to Somerset, that when a short time after this Rouen capitulated, he had his wife and children with him, and in consequence it is implied, that such an attendance, at such a moment was, sufficient evidence that great military vigour was not intended in the defence of the province. The important document above quoted shows that the Duke was fully aware of the danger that beset him, though the sudden breaking of the truce by Charles the Seventh left him no alternative, but to keep his family with him. Surrounded on all sides by disaffection and treason, without assistance from England, he was unable to face the enemy and therefore shut himself up in Rouen. Pont de l'Arche and Verneuil were surprized and taken, and in less than 10 weeks, half Normandy had submitted to Count Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans. Rouen at last surrendered on honourable terms, and the Duke of Somerset, who was promised a reinforcement of 3000 men, under Sir Thos. Kyriel, from England, fixed his head quarters at Caen. These troops never reached their destination, for intercepted by superior numbers under the Count de Clermont at Fourmigny they were mostly slain or taken prisoners. On the news of this defeat the towns of

May 16 and July 29th.

Rouen surrenders, Nov. 4th.

A.D. 1450. Ap. 18th.

(*W. Wyrcester*, p. 469.)

Avranches, Bayeux, and Valanges immediately opened their gates to the Conqueror. The Duke of Somerset surrendered up Caen upon Capitulation, and thus of all Normandy Cherburgh remained alone to the English, which however was taken after a short siege. In the space of twelve months and six days Charles had entirely recovered Normandy from the English, the loss of which with it's hundred fortresses and seven bishoprics, was severely felt at home. William Wyrcester records this event with more than usual brevity, thus: "In the same year, and in the same month all Normandy was lost." Cherburgh had no sooner surrendered, than the French King marched towards Guienne, and so supine were the English that not a battle was fought to retard his progress, but fortress after fortress was delivered up to him without a blow, and, before the following August, nothing remained of the English possessions in France, but the town of Calais upon which the banner of Henry waved, in mockery of his title of King of France.

A.D. 1450.

Caen surrenders, July 1st.

Aug. 12th.

Loss of Guienne.

The English possessions reduced to Calais.

The Nation was clamorous for vengeance on the heads of the Ministers, who were supposed "to have sacrificed the King's foreign castles, towns and territories for large sums of gold." The Bishop of Chichester[7] probably discerning the coming storm, resigned his seat in the cabinet, and was shortly afterwards murdered at Portsmouth, and the Duke of Suffolk[8] on the meeting of Parliament in January 1450, rose up in the House of

(*Croyland Contin.* p. 525.)

Resignation of Bp. Molins.

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[7] "About the time of the Epiphany of the Lord, M. Adam Molins, Bishop of Chichester, was barbarously murdered at Portsmouth, whither he had gone to pay the soldiers and sailors, the people crying out that he was a traitor to the King and Queen, and one of the barterers of Normandy."—(*Will. Wyrcester*, p. 467.)

[8] He is depicted as "a man of singular cunning, and well versed in the art of deceiving." . . "He conferred bishoprics and benefices for money, and did many things in the Kingdom against justice, for his power alone." . . "He introduced his own faction, to the exclusion of the King's relations, into the King's peculiar service, and divided with them the great sums raised from the tenths and taxes for the Royal Treasury."—(*Croyl. Contin.* pp. 521-525.)

A.D. 1450. Duke of Suffolk's defence.—(*Rotuli Parl.* vol. v. p. 176.)

Lords and requested them "to admit his supplications and desire, that he might make his declaration of the great infamy and defamation which was said upon him, by many people of this land." He obtained the desired permission, and his speech on this occasion is still preserved in the Parliamentary Rolls. The Commons, however, were not so easily satisfied as the Lords, and on the 28th of January they accused him by their Speaker of high crimes and misdemeanours, and requested his committal to the Tower. The commons then exhibited their bill of impeachment against him. On the 19th of March he was brought from the Tower to the King's palace at Westminster, and after a private hearing before the King and the Lords, he was sentenced to five years honourable exile by command of the King. That this was intended merely to satisfy the commons by a show of justice is evident from the account of a contemporary, for "it is said that the Duke of Suffolk is pardoned, and hath his men again waiting upon him, and is right well at ease and merry, and is in the King's good grace, and in the good conceit of all the lords as well as ever he was." He addressed one of the most beautiful Compositions in the language, a letter of moral advice to his son, dated April 28th 1450 and sailed from Ipswich in the first week in May. The following letters giving an account of his barbarous murder, with the remarks which precede them, are extracted from Sir John Fenn's Collection of Letters, vol. i. pp. 38-52.

Impeached by the Commons;

banished for five years.

(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 26.) The murder of Suffolk.

(*Sir John Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 48.)

"The Murder of William De La Pole,[9] Duke of Suffolk, is, by our Historians, variously related; some in-

[9] "On the 27th of January William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk was accused and examined before the whole Parliament, at it's sitting in Westminster Hall. On the 17th of March following he was by the King and all the council sentenced to five years banishment, and in a few days afterwards beheaded by some sailors off Dover." — (*W. Wyrcester*, p. 477.) "And on the following day, being enticed on board a ship called Nicolas of the Tower, he was taken prisoner, and beheaded at sea on the 2d of May off Dover."—(*W. Wyrcester*, p. 469.)

forming us, in general terms, that it was committed by the contrivance of the Party then in opposition to the Queen; others, that it was done by order of the Party then in the Duke of York's interest; and others, that a Captain Nicholas, of a ship belonging to the Tower, or a Captain of a ship called the Nicholas, met him on the sea, and there took and murdered him, but whether in consequence of being employed for that purpose, or on his own authority, does not sufficiently appear." A.D. 1450.

"A short sketch of the Proceedings of Parliament, and of the Duke of Suffolk's situation previous to his leaving the Kingdom, is necessary to the clearly understanding of the following account."

"Upon the meeting of the Parliament at Westminster, in [November 1449] (*January* 1450) the Commons presented to the Lords several Articles of Impeachment against the Duke of Suffolk. The Queen fearing the consequences of these, persuaded the King to send the Duke to the Tower, hoping by this step to satisfy the Commons." The Commons impeach the Duke of Suffolk, Nov. 1449, who is sent to the Tower.

"After this, by her address, the Parliament was adjourned to Leicester, to meet in April 1450, [where the Duke, being released from his imprisonment, appeared, with the King and Queen, as Prime Minister. This proceeding extremely offending the Commons;][10] they presented a Petition to the King, praying that all, who had been concerned in the delivery of Normandy to the French, might be punished." He is released.

"The Queen's fears were now renewed, [and she prevailed upon the King instantly to banish the Duke for five years, which he did;] and the Duke very soon em-

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[10] The passages placed within brackets [ ] are probably those referred to in the following note: "It may be observed that there are many mistakes in the remarks of the editor on these letters."—(*Lingard*, vol. iii. p. 463.) The Duke had been banished by the King on the 17th of March,—(*W. Wyrcester*, p. 477,) previous to the adjournment of Parliament.

A.D. 1450. barked with an intention of going to France, where his Friend the Duke of Somerset was Regent."

"From the plain state of this historical fact, delivered down to us in these letters, the following Observations are deduced, first premising that, in 1447, the Duke of Suffolk in conjunction with the Queen and her Ministry, had been one of the principal Agents in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester;[11] an event which, in all human probability, was the immediate occasion of the Duke of York's thoughts of asserting his claim to the crown, a claim, in which he could have had little hopes of success, during the life of a Prince, the Uncle of the reigning King, and the brother, and the son of the two preceding Sovereigns."

"A Prince likewise well beloved by the People, and endowed with abilities which would have adorned a throne."

Enmity of the Duke of York,

"The Duke of York at this time most certainly had a personal hatred to the Duke of Suffolk, as by him he had been not long before dismissed from the Regency of France, and was very lately sent into Ireland, to quell a Rebellion with a force inadequate to the purpose."

"The Duke of Suffolk's undoubted attachment to the House of Lancaster, must be, at all times, a great impediment to the taking of many necessary steps by the York Party, towards carrying this meditated claim into execution; the having him therefore put to death, must be a very desirable circumstance to the Duke of York and his friends."

"The arrival of the Earls of Devonshire and Warwick, at this critical time at Leicester, with such large retinues

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[11] The writer of these remarks evidently considered the Duke guilty of the murder. Had he been at all implicated in the death of the Duke of Gloucester, it would no doubt have been brought forward in the articles of his impeachment. As neither of the authorities already quoted, nor his public accusers bring this charge against him, it was probably a report spread to his prejudice by the Duke of York and his partisans.

of Men '*well byseen*,' furnishes very sufficient reasons for thinking, that the murder of the Duke of Suffolk was a premeditated scheme; and that these noblemen came, thus attended, to prevent any proceedings which might have been adopted by the Queen and her Party, on their knowledge of this event being accomplished; for these two noblemen could not arrive at Leicester in consequence of the murder, as it was impossible for them to know of it, to get their men together, and to enter Leicester, the one on the 4th, the other on the 5th of May, the account of it not arriving in London till the 4th; they therefore most probably came in consequence of their previous knowledge of the plan that was laid, to wait the event of it, and to act as circumstances might require." A.D. 1450.

"The sentence of banishment[12] seems to have been almost instantaneous, this method therefore of taking him off, must have been as instantaneously resolved upon, by those of the Party then near the Court; for though the People in general and the Commons hated the Duke, it no where appears, that he was thus taken off by any generally concerted plan for that purpose, but by a party; and as these two noblemen, both at that time professed Friends to the Duke of York, arrived thus critically with such numerous attendants so well arrayed and accoutred, it gives the greatest reason to suspect that it was by their Party." who causes the murder of Suffolk.

"What Captain of a ship that had met the Duke on the sea, unless his ship had been sent out on purpose to take him, could have known what had passed at Leicester, otherwise than from the Duke's own people in

[12] After sentence of banishment had been pronounced he was permitted to enjoy the quiet of his own home in Suffolk for five weeks. It was on the eve of his departure that he wrote the letter to his son, given in the Paston Collection, and which could never have proceeded from the pen of the murderer of Gloucester.

A. D. 1450. the Spinner, and from that account only would have dared to take and murder him?"

"This force too, the Nicholas, with the other ships waiting on him, was certainly much superior to the Duke's two ships, and one little spinner; otherwise, how can we account for his own shipmen not holding with him? for however lowly fallen in the public esteem, a nobleman, of his consequence and possessions, must have still had faithful adherents enough to have defended him; and to have accompanied him to France; unless they found that resistance in their situation to such superior force, (a force sent out on purpose to take him), could be of no service; but would most probably have hastened his fate."

"The words, 'God save the Kynge and sende us Pees,' seem to insinuate a suspicion of the King's personal safety at this time, and a fear that the disturbances which then overspread the land, might be productive of civil wars; for the Prayer for Peace being coupled with that for the King's safety, plainly refers to the disturbances at home, and not to those in France."

"From these, and all other circumstances, therefore, as stated in these two Letters, it may be justly concluded, that the York Party not only contrived, but perpetrated the murder of this nobleman; who thus fell a terrible example, that Blood requires Blood; and had it been the only, instead of the first blood spilt by the Yorkists, happy had it been for England, who would not then have had to lament those deluges of it, which soon after flowed in the dreadful Civil Contests between the two Houses of York and Lancaster."

Margaret Paston's Letter relating these events.

"*To the Right Worshipful John Paston, at Norwich.*

Right worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you, and am right sorry of that I shall say, and have so washed this little bill with sorrowful tears, that uneths (*scarcely*)

ye shall read it. As on Monday next after May Day (*4th May*) there came tidings to London, that on Thursday before (*30th of April*) the Duke of Suffolk[13] came unto the Coasts of Kent full near Dover with his two ships and a little spinner; the which spinner he sent with certain letters, by certain of his trusted men unto Calais ward, to know how he should be received; and with him met a ship called Nicholas of the Tower with other ships waiting on him, and by them that were in the spinner, the Master of the Nicholas had knowledge of the Duke's coming. When he espied the Duke's ships, he sent forth his boat to weet what they were, and the Duke himself spoke to them, and said, he was by the King's commandment sent to Calais ward, &c. and they said, he must speak with their master; and so he with two or three of his men went forth with them in their boat to the Nicholas; and when he came, the Master bade him, 'Welcome Traitor,' as men say. And further the Master desired to weet if the shipmen would hold with the Duke, and they sent word they would not in no wise; and so he was in the Nicholas till Saturday (*2nd May*) next following. Some say he wrote much thing to be delivered to the King, but that is not verily known. He had his Confessor with him &c. and some say he was arraigned in the ship on their manner upon the Impeachments and found guilty, &c. Also he asked the name of the ship, and when he knew it, he remembered Stacy that said, if he might escape the danger of A.D. 1450.

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[13] "William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk held the office of High Admiral during the minority of Henry Holand, Duke of Exeter. Deprived of his high offices, sent into exile, and captured at sea, he was beheaded on the 2nd of May in the 28th year of Henry VI."—(*Bibl. Cot. MS. Faustina, c. IX.*) "This William de la Pole was created Marquis of Suffolk, Sep. 14, Anno XXIV. Henr. VI. He was after created Duke of Suffolk; of whom did descend John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, slain with Martin Swarth, at Stokefield in King Henry VII. time; of whom there is no issue."—(*Harl. MSS.* 7371.) "He was elected a Knight of the Garter, May 3rd in the 9th year of Henry VI. and placed in the stall the seventh of the Prince's side, after the death of Thomas, Duke of Clarence."—(*Harl. MSS. No.* 235.)

A.D. 1450. the Tower he should be safe, and then his heart failed him, for he thought he was deceived. And in the sight of all his men he was drawn out of the great ship into the boat, and there was an axe and a stock, and one of the lewdest (*meanest*) of the ship bade him lay down his head and he should be fairly fared with, and die on a sword; and took a rusty sword and smote off his head within half a dozen strokes, and took away his gown of russet, and his doublet of velvet mailed, and laid his body on the sands of Dover; and some say his head was set on a pole by it; and his men sit on the land by great circumstance (*by great numbers?*) and pray. And the Sheriff of Kent doth watch the body[14] and (*hath*) sent his Undersheriff to the Judges to weet what to do; and also to the King (*to know*) what shall be done. Further I wot not, but thus far is it, if the process be erroneous let his counsel reverse it &c. Also for your other matters they sleep and the Fryar also &c. Sir Thomas Kyriel is taken prisoner and all the leg harness and about 3000 Englishmen slain. Matthew Gooth (*Gough?*) with 1500 fled and saved himself and them. And Peris Bruoy (*Piers Bracy*) was chief Captain and had 10,000 Frenchmen and more, &c. I pray you let my mistress your mother know these tidings, and God have you all in his keeping. I pray you (that) this bill may recommend me to my Mistresses your mother and wife, &c. James Gresham hath written to John of Dam and recommendeth him, &c. Written in great haste at London the 5th day of May, &c.

It was the Count de Clermont who commanded.

[*By your Wife*]

William Lomner."

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[14] "His body, with the head, was buried in the Church of Wingfield, in Suffolk."—(*Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 189.)

A.D. 1450.

Jno. Crane's Letter respecting Suffolk's murder.

"*To my Right Worshipful Cousin, John Paston of Norwich Esquire.*

Right worshipful Sir, I recommend me unto you in the most goodly wise that I can; and for as much as ye desired of me to send you word of divers matters here, which have been opened in the Parliament openly, and I send you of them such as I can.

First more especial, that for very truth upon Saturday that last was, the Duke of Suffolk was taken in the sea, and there he was beheaded, and his body with the appurtenance set at land at Dover; and all the folks that he had with him were set to land, and had none harm, &c. And also the King hath somewhat granted to have the resumption again, in some but not in all &c.

Also if ye purpose to come hither to put up your bills, ye may come now in a good time, for now every man that hath any, they put them in, and so may ye if ye come, with God's grace to your pleasure. Furthermore upon the 4th day of this month, the Earl of Devonshire came hither with 300 men well beseen &c. and upon the morrow after my Lord of Warwick with 400 and more, &c.

Also as is noised here Calais shall be besieged within this seven days, &c. God save the King, and send us peace, &c.

Other tidings be there none here, but Almighty God have you in his keeping. Written at Leicester, the 6th day of May.

Your Cousin

John Crane."

The King and Queen who were plunged into the deepest distress by this unlooked for and tragical occurrence, were roused from the indulgence of their sorrow by a sudden and unexpected danger.

A.D. 1450. JACK CADE'S REBELLION.—(*Stowe's Chronicle*, page 175.)

"The Commons of Kent, in great numbers, assembled on Black-Heath having to their Captain Jack Cade, against whom the King sent a great army; but by the said captain and rebels, they were discomfited, and Sir Humphrey Stafford and William his brother, with many others slain. After this victory the rebel came to London, entered the city, and struck his sword upon London Stone, saying, "Now is Mortimer Lord of this city." Upon the 3rd of July, he caused the Lord Say to be arraigned, and at the standard in Cheap smote off his head; he also beheaded Sir James Cromer at Mile End. After this succeeded open robbery within the city. But the Mayor and others sent to the Lord Seales, keeper of the Tower, who promised his aid with shooting of ordinance and Matthew Gough was appointed to assist the Mayor; so that the Captains of the city took upon them in the night to keep the bridge, where between them and the rebels was a fierce encounter. In conclusion the rebels got the draw bridge, and drowned and spoiled many.

This conflict endured till 9 of the clock in the morning, in doubtful chance; so that both parties agreed to desist from fight till the next day, upon condition that neither Londoner should pass Southwark, nor the Kentishmen into London. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury and others passed to Southwark, where they shewed a general pardon,[15] for all offenders; whereupon the multitude retired home. The Captain fled through

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[15] Cade had accepted this pardon with the others, but repenting again collected his followers on the 8th of July. "And on the same night this captain and his men fell back upon Rochester, and awhile after, in the same year, Alexander Iden, was inducted in the office of sheriff. Also at Rochester on the same day, the followers of the Captain fell out among themselves respecting the division of the booty, whilst he taking horse fled away, and was killed by the aforesaid new sheriff of Kent in a certain garden. After which his body was conveyed to London, and by an order of Council, beheaded and quartered, and his head placed on London bridge looking Kentwards."—(*W. Wyrcester*, p. 472.)

the weald of Sussex (*Kent*) and there was slain. After this the King rode into Kent, where many were drawn and quartered." A.D. 1450. His death, July 6th.

The following letter, written a few years after these events by a servant of Sir John Fastolf, who was taken by the Rebels, presents us with a curious account of the Commons of Kent, and shews us the violence and barbarity of a body of men, collected chiefly from the dregs of the people, combined together for the pretended purpose of Reformation, but really for the destruction of all good order and legal government. These contemporary accounts give many minor details, which are necessary to elucidate the transactions of this eventful period of our history, and which we seek for in vain in the more legitimate sources of information.

"*To my Right Honourable Master, John Paston.*" J. Payn's letter respecting Cade's rebellion.

"Right honourable and my right entirely beloved Master, I recommend me unto you, with all manner of due reverence in the most lowly wise as me ought to do, evermore desiring to hear of your worshipful state, prosperity and welfare; the which I beseek (*beseech*) God, of his abundant grace, (*to*) increase and maintain to his utmost pleasance, and to your heart's desire.

Pleaseth it, your good and gracious Mastership, tenderly to consider the great losses and hurts, that your Petitioner hath, and hath had ever since the Commons of Kent came to Blackheath and that is at 15 years passed; whereas my master Sir John Fastolf Knight, that is, your Testator, commanded your beseecher to take a man, and two of the best horses that were in his stable, with him to ride to the Commons of Kent, and get the Articles that they come for; and so I did; and also (*as*) soon as I came to the Blackheath, the Captain made the Commons to take me; and for the salvation of my Master's Horses I made my fellow to ride away with the two horses; and I was brought forthwith before the

A.D. 1450. J. Payn's letter respecting Cade's rebellion.

Captain of Kent; and the Captain demanded (*of*) me, what was my cause of coming thither, and why that I made my fellow to steal away with the horses; and I said, that I came thither to cheer with my wife's brethren, and others that were mine allies, and gossips of mine, that were present there; and then was there one there, and (*who*) said to the Captain, that I was one of Sir John Fastolf's men, and the two horses were Sir John Fastolf's; and then the Captain let cry Treason upon me throughout all the field, and brought me at four parts of the field, with a Herald of the Duke of Exeter before me, in the Duke's Coat of Arms making four Oyez at four parts of the field; proclaiming openly by the said Herald, that I was sent thither for to espy their puissance, and their habiliments of war, from the greatest Traitor that was in England or in France, as the said Captain made proclamation at that time, from one Sir John Fastolf Knight, the which minished (*diminished*) all the Garrisons of Normandy, and Manns, and Mayn, the which was the cause of the losing of all the King's title and right of an heritance, that he had beyond the sea. And moreover he said, that the said Sir John Fastolf had furnished his Place with the old soldiers of Normandy and habiliments of war, to destroy the Commons of Kent, when that they came to Southwark, and therefore he said plainly that I should lose my head; and so forthwith I was taken, and led to the Captain's Tent, and one axe and one block was brought forth to have smitten off mine head; and then my Master Poynyngs your brother, with other of my friends came, and letted (*prevented*) the Captain, and said plainly, that there should die an hundred or two, that in case be, that I died; and so by that mean my life was saved at that time. And then I was sworn to the Captain, and to the Commons, that I should go to Southwark and array me in the best wise that I could, and come again to them to help them; and so I got the

Articles and brought them to my Master, and that cost me more amongst the Commons that day than 27s. A.D. 1450. J. Payn's letter respecting Cade's rebellion.

Whereupon I came to my Master Fastolf and brought him the Articles, and informed him of all the matter, and counselled him to put away all his habiliments of war, and the old Soldiers, and so he did, and went himself to the Tower, and all his meyny (*family*) with him, but Betts and Matthew Brayn; and had not I been, the Commons would have brenned (*burnt*) his Place, and all his Tenuries; where though it cost me of my own proper goods at that time more than six marks (£4) in meat and drink, and (*yet*) notwithstanding the Captain that same time let take me at the White Hart in Southwark, and there commanded Lovelace to despoil me out of mine array, and so he did; and there he took a fine Gown of Must' dewyllrs (*qy. Dowlas*) furred with fine beavers, and one pair of Brigandines covered with blue velvet and gilt nails, with leg-harness; the value of the Gown and Brigandines £8.

Item the captain sent certain of his men to my Chamber in your rents, and there they broke up my chest and took away one obligation of mine, that was due unto me of £36 by a Priest of Paul's, and one other obligation of one Knight of £10 and my purse with five rings of gold and 17s. and 6d. of gold and silver; and one harness complete of the touch of Milan; and one Gown of fine Perse blue furred with Martens; and two Gowns, one furred with Bogey, and one other lined with frieze; and there would have smitten off mine head, when that they had despoiled me at the White Hart; and there my Master Poynyngs and my Friend saved me, and so I was put up, till at night that the Battle was at London Bridge; and then at night the Captain put me out into the Battle at the Bridge, and there I was wounded, and hurt near hand to death; and there I was six hours in the battle and might never come out thereof; and four times before that time I was carried about throughout

A.D. 1450. J. Payn's letter respecting Cade's rebellion.

Kent and Sussex, and there they would have smitten off my head; and in Kent there as my wife dwelled they took away all our Goods moveable that we had; and there would have hanged my wife and five of my children, and left her no more goods but her kirtle and her smock; and anon after that hurling (*commotion*) the Bishop of Rochester impeached me to the Queen, and so I was arrested by the Queen's commandment into the Marshalsea, and there was in right great duress, and fear of mine life, and was threatened to have been hanged, drawn, and quartered; and so they would have made me have impeached my Master Fastolf of treason, and because that I would not, they had me up to Westminster, and there would have sent me to the Gaol House at Windsor, but my wife's and one cousin of mine own, that were Yeomen of the Crown they went to the King, and got grace and one Charter of Pardon.

Per le v're,

J. Payn."

A.D. 1451. The Duke of York returns from Ireland.—(*W. Wyrcester*, p. 473.)

"In the beginning of September the King heard tidings of the sudden arrival of Richard, Duke of York, in Wales from Ireland, whereupon the Lord Lyle and others were despatched to intercept his progress. About the same time William Tresham, the celebrated lawyer (*Speaker of the House*) was killed by the retainers of Lord Grey de Ruthyn at Multon Park near Northampton on the 22nd of September, on his road to join the said Duke of York. And on the 30th the Duke of York with a retinue of 4000 armed men entered the Palace of Westminster, and with insolence desired the King to call a parliament forthwith, retiring shortly after the feast of St. Michael to his Manor of Fotheringay."

Death of Tresham, Sept. 22.

York enters London with an armed force, Sept. 30.

The Duke of Somerset's return from France.—(*Ibid.*)

"In the October following the Duke of Somerset returned by way of Calais from Normandy." His arrival was hailed by the King and Queen as a blessing, for since

the death of the King's uncles he was the nearest of kin to Henry, and it was hoped his presence and influence would check the ambition of the Duke of York. The following table shows how nearly he was allied to the King: A.D. 1451.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.
|
John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset.
|
| | |
Henry, Earl of Somerset, died young. | John, Duke of Somerset, died 1444. | Edmund, Duke of Somerset.

Bolingbroke, in usurping the throne had challenged the crown in right of his father and mother being both descendants of Henry the Third, and exhibited the following table.

Pedigree of the Red Rose.

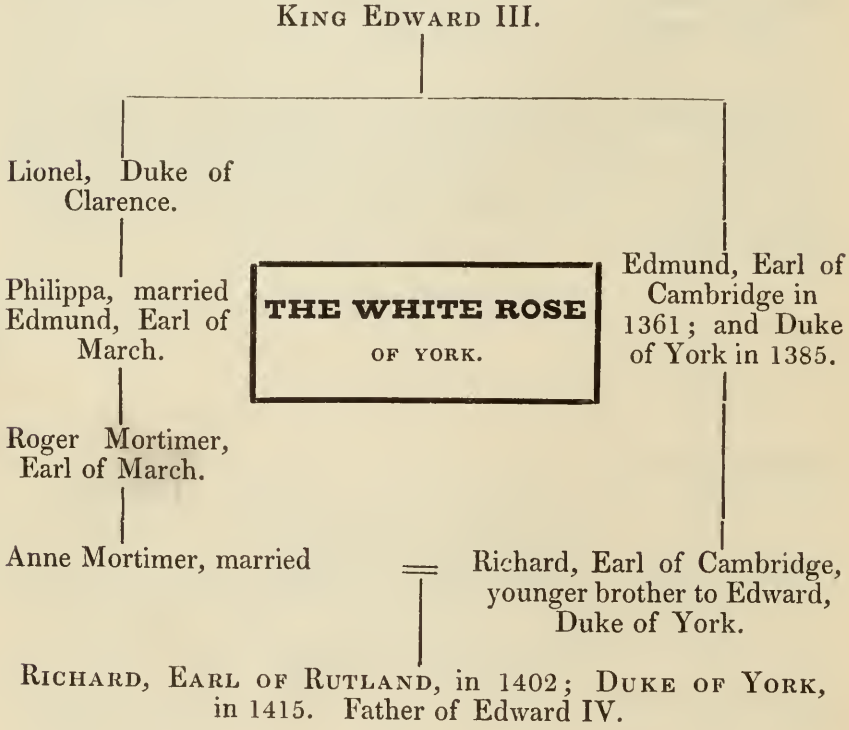
King Henry III.
|
| |
King Edward I. | Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.
| |
King Edward II. | Henry, Earl of Lancaster.
| |
King Edward III. | Henry, Duke of Lancaster.
| |
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. = Blanch, Duchess of Lancaster.
|
King Henry IV.

THE RED ROSE OF LANCASTER.

But this pedigree could give him no legal claim to the throne, for the young Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, was sprung from the Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt; and his mother's title was not tenable as her descent was from Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, a

A.D. 1451. younger brother of King Edward I. The consequences of this usurpation were now to be visited on the head of his innocent grandson with fearful vengeance. The Duke of York was descended as just stated from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward the Third, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, and Clarence's great grandson, Roger Earl of March was the legitimate heir to the crown at the period of Bolingbroke's accession to the throne.

Pedigree of the White Rose.


King Edward III.
Lionel, Duke of Clarence.
Philippa, married Edmund, Earl of March.
Roger Mortimer, Earl of March.
Anne Mortimer, married
THE WHITE ROSE
OF YORK.
Edmund, Earl of Cambridge in 1361; and Duke of York in 1385.
Richard, Earl of Cambridge, younger brother to Edward, Duke of York.
Richard, Earl of Rutland, in 1402; Duke of York, in 1415. Father of Edward IV.

Parliament meets, 6 Nov. 1451.

(*William Wyrcester*, p. 475.)

On the 6th of November 1451 Parliament met. The rival leaders openly opposed each other, and York proceeded so far as to employ one of his creatures, "Thomas Yonge, the Member for Bristol, a law-student, to propose that as the King was without issue, the Duke of York should be declared heir apparent. For which cause the said Thomas was afterwards committed to the Tower of London." The chief supporters of the Duke of York were, John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; the

Chief supporters of York.

Nevilles, Richard Earl of Salisbury, Richard Earl of Warwick, Edward Lord Bergavenny, and William Lord Falconbridge; Courteney Earl of Devon; the Lords Cromwell, Latimer and Cobham. These noblemen formed a very strong party, but though they threatened the life of Somerset, and instigated the populace to pillage his property, they could obtain no decided advantage. The partizans, however, of the Duke held frequent consultations, the result of which was a determination to appeal to the sword on the first favourable opportunity. Even during the sitting of parliament, a short time after the member for Bristol had proposed to settle the succession on the Duke of York, "the Earl of Devon besieged the Lord Bonville in the Castle of Taunton, which caused a great commotion in the West of England. The Duke of York, the Lord de Molins, William Lord Herbert, and others joined the Earl, upon which Lord Bonville surrendered." This Lord Bonville was a staunch loyalist, and had been raised to the peerage by Henry the Sixth. Party dissensions already caused disunion in private families. "In August Thomas Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury was married to the niece of Lord Cromwell at Tatershall in Lincolnshire. Returning from the wedding a serious quarrel arose between Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, and the Earl, which was the commencement of the most grievous disturbances in England. John, Earl of Beauchamp's resignation of the office of Lord Treasurer was accepted, and John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, appointed to succeed him. And although the Lord Cromwell was still Lord Chamberlain, the Country was entirely governed by the Duke of Somerset and his associates."

A.D. 1451.

They besiege the Lord Bonville at Taunton.—(*William Wyrcester*, p. 475.)

Quarrel between Lords Salisbury and Egremont.—(*Ibid.* 476.)

"In the following September a council was held at Coventry to reconcile the differences of the Dukes of York and Somerset, and their quarrel was referred to the King and Council of the Peers." Concerning this and other events connected with the period, a letter

Council at Coventry, September.

A.D. 1451. from James Gresham to John Paston furnishes these additional particulars:

Change of Ministers.—(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. pp. 25 to 29.)

"As for tidings, my Lord Chancellor is discharged, and in his stead is my Lord of Winchester. And my Lord of Shrewsbury is Treasurer. Brown of your Inn is Under-Treasurer, if ye would send to him to grant you the naming of the Escheatorship of Norfolk, etc. it were well done, for it is told me, he would do much for you.

Master Laurence Booth is Privy Seal.

It is said that my Lord of York hath been with the King, and is departed again in right good conceit with the King, but not in great conceit with the Queen.

Some men say, had my Lord of Buckingham not have letted (*hindered*) it, my Lord of York had been distressed (*seized*) in his departing.

A.D. 1452. Affray at Coventry.

On Monday last past, was a great affray at Coventry, between the Duke of Somerset's men, and the watchmen of the Town, and two or three men of the Town were killed there, to (*the*) great disturbance of all the lands there, for the alarum bell was rung, and the Town arose, and would have jeoparded to have distressed the Duke of Somerset, and had not the Duke of Buckingham taken a direction therein.

Discontent of Buckingham.

Also it is said, the Duke of Buckingham taketh right strangely that both his brethren are so suddenly discharged from their Offices of Chancellery and Treasurership; and that among other causeth him that his opinion is contrary to the Queen's intent, and many other also, as it is talked.

Item, some men say, the Council is dissolved, and that the King is forth to Chester, etc. Also some say, that many of the Lords shall resort hither to London against All-hallows-tide. And as touching the election of Sheriffs, men ween that my Lord of Canterbury shall have a great rule, and specially in our Country.

I can no more, but Almighty God send us, as his most pleasure is.

Written in all haste, the Saturday next after Saint Edward's day. A.D. 1452.

Your servant,
James Gresham."

This letter implies that the Queen, probably mistrusting the protestations of the Duke of York, looked upon him with an eye of suspicion. Dissatisfied with the position of affairs he hastened to his castle of Ludlow, and raising his tenants in the Welsh Marches, sent the following Petition to the King: The Duke of York raises forces in Wales.

"*Richard Duke of York's Petition to King Henry for the Punishment of Traitors etc.* Petitions the King, Jan. 9th.—(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 65.)

Please it, your Highness, tenderly to consider the great grudging and rumour that is universally in this your Realm, of that justice is not duly ministred to such as trespass and offend against your laws; and in special of them that (*have*) been endited of Treason, and others, being openly noised of the same; wherefore, for great inconvenience that have fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter, in your said Realm, which God defend, but (*unless*) by your Highness provision convenable be made for due reformation and punishment in this behalf; wherefore I, your humble subject and liegeman, Richard Duke of York, willing as effectually as I can, and desiring surety and prosperity of your most royal person, and welfare of this your noble Realm, counsel and advertise your excellence, for the conservation of good tranquillity and peaceable rule among all true subjects, for to ordain and provide, that due justice be had against all such that (*have*) been so indited or openly so noised; wherein I offer, and will put me (*myself*) in devoir (*duty*) for to execute your commandments in these premises, of such offenders and redress of the said misrulers to my might and power. And for the hasty execution hereof, like it your Highness to dress (*address*) your letters of

A.D. 1452. Privy Seal and Writs, to your officers and ministers to do take and arrest all such persons so noised or endited of what estate, degree or condition so ever they be, and then to commit to your Tower of London, or to other your prisons there to abide without bail or mainprize unto the time that they be utterly tried and declared after the course of your law."

He sent copies of this petition to all the principal towns, and to many private persons, and to the latter circumstance we are indebted for the document given above. In his subsequent attainder he was charged (*Parl. Rolls*, vol. v. p. 346.) "with having by this means incited many private persons to rebellion." The Duke now at the head of a considerable army prepared to march towards London, first addressing the following letter to the Citizens of Shrewsbury.

Duke of York's letter to the Citizens of Shrewsbury. —(*Ellis's Original Letters*, vol. i. page 11.)

"*Richard Duke of York to the Citizens of Shrewsbury A. D.* 1452; *upon his march towards London to overthrow the Duke of Somerset.*

Right worshipful friends, I recommend me unto you, and I suppose it is well known unto you, as well by experience as by common language said and reported throughout all Christendom, what land, what worship honour, and manhood was ascribed of all Nations unto the people of this realm, whilst the Kingdom's Sovereign Lord stood possessed of his Lordship in the realm of France, and Dutchy of Normandy; and what derogation, loss of merchandize, lesion of honour, and villany, is said and reported generally unto the English nation, for loss of the same; namely unto the Duke of Somerset, when he had the commandance and charge thereof; the which loss hath caused and encouraged the King's enemies for to conquer and get Gascony and Guienne, and now daily they make their advance for to lay siege unto Calais, and to other places in the Marches there,

for to apply them to their obeisance, and so for to come into the land with great puissance to the final destruction thereof, if they might prevail, and to put the land in their subjection, which God defend. And on the other part it is to be supposed it is not unknown to you how that coming out of Ireland, I as the King's true liege man, and servant, and ever shall be to my life's end, and for my true acquital, perceiving the inconvenience before rehearsed, advised his Royal Majesty of certain Articles concerning the weal and safeguard, as well of his most royal person, as the tranquillity and conservation of all this his realm; the which Advertisements, how be it that it was thought that they were full necessary, were laid apart, and to be of none effect, through the envy, malice and untruth of the said Duke of Somerset; which for my truth faith, and allegiance that I owe unto the King, and the good will and favour that I have to all the Realm, laboureth continually about the King's Highness for my undoing, and to corrupt my blood, and to disherit me and my heirs, and such persons as be about me, without any desert or cause done or attempted on my part or theirs, I make our Lord Judge. Wherefore, worshipful Friends, to the intent that every man shall know my purpose, and desire for to declare me such as I am, I signify unto you that with the help and supportation of Almighty God, and of our Lady, and of all the Company of Heaven, I, after long sufferance and delays, not my will or intent to displease my sovereign Lord, seeing that the said Duke ever prevaileth and ruleth about the King's person, that by this means the land is likely to be destroyed, am fully concluded to proceed, in all haste against him, with the help of my kinsmen and friends, in such wise, that it shall prove to promote ease, peace, tranquillity, and safeguard of all this land: and more, keeping me within the bounds of my liegeance as it pertaineth to my duty, praying and exhorting you, to fortify enforce and assist

A.D. 1452. Duke of York's letter to the Citizens of Shrewsbury.

A.D. 1452. The Duke of York's letter to the Citizens of Shrewsbury.

me, and to come to me with all diligence, wheresoever I shall be, or draw, with as many goodly and likely men as ye may make to execute the intent abovesaid. Written under my signet at my Castle of Ludlow, the 3rd day of February. Furthermore I pray you, that such strait appointment and ordinance be made, that the people which shall come in your fellowship, or be sent unto me by your agreement be demeaned in such wise, by the way that they do no offence, nor robbery, nor oppression upon the people, in lesion of justice. Written as above, &c.

Your good Friend,

R. York.

To my right worshipful Friends, the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commons of the good Town of Shrewsbury."

He marches to London, and thence to Dartford.

The prompt measures adopted by the King's advisers, however, had placed a large force at the disposal of Henry, who forthwith marched against him, and the Duke fearing an immediate collision would ruin his cause, continued his progress by bye-roads and forced marches to avoid the Royal army, and, finding the gates of the City closed against him, on his reaching London, he crossed over into Kent and set up his standard at Dartford, in the hope of alluring the Kentish men to join him. Henry followed him, and encamping on Blackheath, sent the Bishops of Winchester and Ely to expostulate with him and to recall him to his duty. The Duke asserted that he had no intention to injure the King but that his sole object was to remove from his councils "the blood-suckers of the nobility, the plunderers of the clergy, and the oppressors of the commonality."

Henry encamps on Blackheath.

York's submission.

To pacify him the Duke of Somerset was ordered into custody upon which he disbanded his army, and visited Henry in his tent unarmed and bareheaded. Per-

ceiving the Duke of Somerset still in attendance upon the King the Duke of York complained of having been deceived and charged his rival with treason which was retorted from one to the other. On leaving the royal presence York was arrested, and Somerset advised his being brought to immediate trial and executed. Henry, however, could not bring his mind to shed the blood of his cousin, and on the latter taking an oath of fealty on the holy sacrament, at St. Paul's, before all the Lords, and a full congregation, he was granted his liberty and retired to his castle of Wigmore. A.D. 1452. (*Whethamstede*, p. 349.)

Quiet having been again restored the eyes of the country were turned towards the recovery of the French provinces of the Crown. The inhabitants of Gascony, impatient under the yoke of their new master, offered to renew their allegiance to Henry, and solicited succours from England. The great Talbot, the veteran Earl of Shrewsbury, though in his 80th year was despatched with 4000 picked men, and soon after joined by his brave son, the Lord Lisle with a like number. Success attended his efforts at first, and before the winter, Bordeaux, the whole of the Bordelais and Chatillon had submitted. On receipt of the news Henry summoned a parliament, which in the exultation of the moment, besides liberal supplies of money, voted an army of 20,000 archers to be raised by the Counties. Amongst the chief of these were Norfolk, 1012 men; Lincoln, 910; York, 713; Kent, 575; and Wiltshire, 478. The following cities and towns, which were counties at the same time, were thus rated: London, 1137 men; York, 152; Norwich, 121; Bristol, 86; Coventry, 76; Newcastle, 53; Hull, 50; Southampton, 44; Lincoln, 44; and Nottingham, 30. This calculation shows the probable proportionate wealth of each at that period, and not, as has been surmised the relative population. It was intended that Henry should accompany this armament in person, but the state of his health not

Expedition for the recovery of the French Provinces, under Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Oct. 17th. A.D. 1453. March 6th. (*Parl. Rolls*, vol. v. p. 231.)

A.D. 1453. permitting it, the embarkation of the troops was delayed, and the vigourous measures of Charles obliged the Earl of Shrewsbury to take the field against him without these reinforcements. The personal prowess of the ancient chivalry had been rendered less formidable by the introduction of artillery, and the great Talbot, whom no single opponent could ever subdue, was struck by a stone from a park of three hundred field pieces, placed within the French lines, during the siege of Chatillon, by the French Marshals Chabanes and the Count de Pentheviere. On receiving his wound, and seeing the impossibility of retaining his ground from the great superiority of the number of the enemy, who in the commencement of the battle were as three to one, when compared to the English forces, the dying veteran sent for his son, Sir John Talbot, Lord Lisle, and exhorted him to save himself for another opportunity, when he might render his country better service. But the brave son of so brave a father chose rather to die by his side, than disgrace the name of Talbot by flight.[16] The English lost 2000 men out of their little army of 7000, but the most fatal blow to them was the death of their general. The consequence of this defeat was the total loss of Aquitaine, which had been possessed by the English for nearly three centuries. "Thus of so many conquests made by the English in France, since Edward III there remained only Calais and Guisnes; poor remains of so many provinces, several whereof had belonged to their sovereigns by hereditary right, and the rest acquired by so many victories, and at the expense of so much blood!"

Siege of Chatillon. Death of Talbot, July 20th.

Death of Lord Lisle.

Loss of Aquitaine.—(*Rapin*, vol. v. p. 471.)

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[16] "Is my name Talbot? and am
I your son?
And shall I fly? Oh! if you
love my mother,
Dishonour not her honourable name,
To make a Bastard and a Slave
of me:—
The world will say:—he is not
Talbot's blood,
That basely fled, when noble Talbot stood."—
(*Henry VI. part I.*)

It was during this unsuccessful campaign in France that Margaret sought to ingratiate herself with the country gentry, by visiting them at their homes. Margaret Paston writes from Norwich an account of one of these visits, which shows that the Queen's masculine mind could unbend in female society, and enjoy the relaxation of domestic gossip with true womanly zest. A.D. 1453. The Queen's progress.

" *To the Right Worshipful Master John Paston, be this delivered in haste.* Margaret Paston's Letter.

Right Worshipful Husband, I recommend me to you, praying you to weet &c. (here follows some account of money received &c.) As for tidings, the Queen came into this Town on tuesday last past after noon and abode here till it was Thursday three (o'clock) afternoon; and she sent after my Cousin Elizabeth Clere by Sharinbourn to come to her; and she durst not disobey her commandment, and came to her; and when she came in the Queen's presence, the Queen made right much of her, and desired her to have an husband, the which ye shall know of hereafter; but as for that he is never nearer than he was before; the Queen was right well pleased with her answer, and reported of her in the best wise, and saith by her troth she saw no Gentlewoman since she came into Norfolk, that she liked better than she doth her.

Blake, the Bailey of Swaffham, was here with the King's brother, and he came to me, weening that he had been at home; and said that the King's Brother desired him that he should pray you in his name to come to him for he would right fain that he had come to him, if ye had been at home; and told me, that ye wist well that he should send for you, when he came to London, both for Cossey and other things. (*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 69.)

I pray you that ye will do your cost on me against Whitsuntide, that I may have something for my neck;

A.D. 1453. when the Queen was here I borrowed my Cousin Elizabeth Clere's Device, for I durst not for shame go with my Beads amongst so many fresh Gentlewomen as here were at that time. The blessed Trinity have you in his keeping.

Written at Norwich on the Friday next before Saint George.

By yours
Margaret Paston."

We now approach one of those events in the history of nations, which completely baffle all our endeavours to unravel the mysteries of Divine Providence. Unless for the wisest of purposes, the sins of the father are visited on the children of the third generation, the pitiable state into which the pious King now fell is beyond our comprehension.

The King's illness, Oct. 1453. In October 1453 Henry the Sixth was attacked by that disorder,[17] which deprived the administration of his sanction, and which by causing the removal of the Duke of Somerset from the head of affairs within three months, placed the King in the hands of the ambitious Duke of York, who now assumed the reins of Government.[18] We are told by a contemporary writer that the Royal patient "lost both sense and memory, and the use of his limbs. He could neither walk, stand, rise up, nor move." (*Whethempstede*, p. 349.)

Birth of Edward, Prince of Wales. It was during this severe affliction, that the Queen presented him with a son, the unfortunate Edward, Prince of Wales; and to whose birth may be ascribed the consequent contention between the Royal Family of Lancaster and the House of York. By this event the Duke of York's expected succession was set aside, and that

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[17] "In this year, 1453 Henry VI. was attacked at Clarendon suddenly with so severe an infirmity in his head, that it seemed his senses had forsaken him."—(*William Wyrcester*, p. 477.)

[18] In the Parliament assembled at Reading in 1454 he addressed the House as the Royal Commissioner. —(*Parl. Rolls*, vol. v. p. 239.)

nobleman left no means untried to maintain his position. The Queen was slandered, and the legitimacy of the Prince questioned, and all her friends removed from the high offices which they held. The Duke of Somerset was sent to the Tower,[19] the Lords of the Council adopting this apparently harsh measure to ensure his safety from the Duke of York. The death of Cardinal Kemp, the Archbishop of Canterbury, hastened the Crisis which was already fast approaching. It was necessary to fill up the vacant see, to do which required the King's pleasure to be known. A deputation of twelve temporal and spiritual peers waited upon him at Windsor. They were to express how earnestly his recovery was desired, and, if they found him incapable of attending to them, here their mission was to end. On the contrary if his capacity allowed they were to communicate the death of the Cardinal and to ascertain his Majesty's wishes respecting the Archbishoprick.

A.D. 1453. (*Fabyan*, p. 456.)

Death of Cardinal Kemp.

Committee of Peers visit the King.—(*Partiamentary Rolls*, vol. v. p. 241, 242.)

After the King had dined the Bishop of Chichester addressed him, but obtained no answer. It was evident that his senses were gone, and that he neither noticed their presence, nor comprehended what was said. The Lords withdrew for a time and having consulted together they again returned to the King. "They moved him; they shook him; but he heeded them not. They had him taken out of one room into another, and strove by pulling him about to rouse him from his lethargy.[20] It was apparent that though the King could breathe and eat, he could neither hear, understand, nor speak. On

[19] Harl. MS. 543, quoted by Sharon Turner. "As for my being in the Tower, it was done by the advice of the Lords of the Council, which, as I understood, was most for the surety of my person."

[20] In the eleventh volume of Rymer's Fœdera is preserved an order in Council dated April 6th to administer to the Royal Sufferer: "electuaries, potions, waters, syrups, confections, laxatives, clysters, gargles, head purses, bathings, fomentations, embrocations, shaving of head, unctions, plaisters, cerates, blisters, scarifications, etc. etc."

A.D. 1453. their return to parliament, with this report, the Duke of York was named Protector and Defender of the realm, till Prince Edward should arrive at years of discretion, when this dignity should be conferred on him.

The Duke of York appointed Lord Protector.—(*Parliamentary Rolls*, vol. v. p. 240.)

In the mean time the friends of the Queen and the Protector continued to annoy each other. Accusations followed on both sides and angry passions were aroused, which ultimately led to the most fatal results, and which were at length only allayed by fields of blood. The young Edward had been created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester;[21] and the King's half-brothers, by his mother's second marriage with Owen Tudor were made Earls of Richmond and Pembroke. On the 28th July 1454 the Duke of York was appointed Governor of Calais, the highest military Command in the gift of the Crown.

The King's recovery, Dec. 25, 1454.

As suddenly as the King's malady had seized him as suddenly did it also disappear. At Christmas he offered up thanks for his recovery,[22] and in the February following the protectorate of his ambitious kinsman ceased.

Somerset restored and York dismissed, Feb. 5, 1455. (*Whethempstede*, page 350, 351.)

The Duke was recalled from Calais, and Somerset after an imprisonment of fourteen months appointed his successor. Sullenly the disgraced nobleman retired to his estates in the North, and, there brooding over the affront put upon him by the Queen and her party, he entered into conferences with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick. He pointed out to them that their safety demanded the most violent measures against the Duke of Somerset, by whose advice Henry was collecting a

Conspiracy of York, Salisbury and Warwick.

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[21] "The Prince shall be created at Windsor upon Pentecost Sunday (*June 9th* 1454), the Chancellor, the Duke of Buckingham, and many other Lords of estate, present with the Queen."—*Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 77.)

[22] "Blessed be God! the King is well amended, and hath been since Christmas day; and on St. John's day, commanded his Almoner to ride to Canterbury with his offering, and commanded the Secretary to offer at Saint Edwards."—(*See the whole of this interesting letter of Ed. Clere, Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 83.)

powerful party at Leicester, with the intention of convening a parliament in that town to which should York and his friends repair they were certain of destruction, and, should they stay away, as certain of being charged with contumacy and thus deprived of their dignities and property. A.D. 1455.

Before entering upon the details of the deadly Crisis, which ensued, we may be pardoned for presenting the picture of the upright, meek and gentle Henry sketched by the hand of one who had studied his character in all it's various points of light and shade.[23]

John Blakman's Character of Henry VI.—(Vol. ii. p. 288.)

"He was a man of pure simplicity of mind, truthful almost to a fault. He never made a promise he did not keep, never knowingly did an injury to any one. Rectitude and justice ruled his conduct in all public affairs. Devout himself, he sought to cherish a love for religion in others. He would exhort his visitors, particularly the young to pursue virtue and eschew evil. He considered sports and the pleasures of the world as frivolous, and devoted his leisure to reading the Scriptures and the old Chronicles. Most decorous himself when attending public worship, he obliged his courtiers to enter the sacred edifice without swords or spears, and to refrain from interrupting the devotion of others by conversing within it's precincts. He exhorted his clergy in frequent letters, and charged them to consider their trust as emanating from the authority of the most High."

"He delighted in female society, and blamed that immodest dress, which left exposed the maternal parts of the neck. "Fie, fie, for shame!" he exclaimed, "forsooth ye be to blame." Fond of encouraging youth in the path of virtue he would frequently converse familiarly with the scholars from his college of Eton, when

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[23] Jo. Blakman Collectarium Mansuetudinum et bonorum Morum Regis Henrici VI. (*apud Hearne, Otterbourne et Wethamstede*) from whose masterly sketch of the character of King Henry, these extracts are made.

A.D. 1455. they visited his servants at Windsor Castle. He generally concluded with this address, adding a present of money: "Be good lads, meek and docile, and attend to your religion."

Character of Henry VI.

"He was liberal to the poor, and lived among his dependants as a father among his children. He readily forgave those who had offended him. When one of his servants had been robbed, he sent him a present of twenty nobles, desiring him to be more careful of his property in future, and requesting him to forgive the thief. Passing one day from St. Albans to Cripplegate, he saw a quarter of a man impaled there for treason. Greatly shocked he exclaimed: "Take it away, take it away, I will have no man so cruelly treated on my account." Hearing that four men of noble birth were about to suffer for treason to him, he sent them his pardon with all expedition to the place of execution."

"In his dress he was plain, and would not wear the shoes, with the upturned points, then so much in fashion, and considered the distinguishing mark of a man of quality."

"He was careful to select proper persons in the distribution of Church preferment; and anxious to promote the real Happiness of his two half brothers, the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke he had them carefully brought up under the most upright and virtuous Ecclesiastics."

Such a King in more peaceable times would have been a blessing to his country; but in those turbulent days, when personal prowess was considered the first of virtues, it is not to be wondered, that he should have been looked upon almost in the light of an idiot.

The Civil War commenced.

The Duke of York, the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and the Lord Cobham marched in the May following their forces towards the Metropolis, where the Duke's popularity was sure to gain him many partizans.

(*England's Happiness*, p. 128.)

"But Henry being advertised of his march, would not wait his coming to London, and being accompanied by

the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the Earls of Pembroke, Stafford, Northumberland, Devonshire, Dorset, and Wiltshire, abundance of Barons and gentlemen of Quality, and what other forces he could get together met him at St. Albans, and according to the peaceable instinct of his nature, sent to know his pretensions." The Duke of Buckingham, the Royal messenger, received the following reply from the confederated nobles. A.D. 1455.

"Please it your Majesty Royal to deliver up such as we will accuse, and they to have like as they deserved. And this done, you to be honourably worshipped as a most rightful king. We will not now slack for no such promise nor oath, until we have them, which have deserved death; or else we, therefore, to die." The message of the Barons.—(*Stowe's Transc. Harl. MS.* p. 545.)

On this occasion the King's reply was worthy of the grandson of Henry IV, and must have been as little anticipated by the Yorkists, as by the Royal party itself: "I, King Henry, charge and command, that no manner (*of*) person of what degree, estate or condition that ever he be, abide not; but that they avoid the field, and not be so hardy to make resistance against me in my own realm: for I shall know what traitor dare be so bold to array any people in my own land, through which I am in great disease and heaviness. By that faith I owe unto St. Edward, and unto the Crown of England, I shall destroy them, every mother's son; and eke they to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, that may be taken afterwards of them; to make an example for all such traitors, to beware for to make any rising of people within mine own land, and thus traitorously to abide their King and Governour. And for a conclusion, rather than they shall have any Lord that here is with me at this time, I shall this day, for their sake in this quarrel, myself live and die." The King's reply.—(*Ibid.*)

Although the royal forces amounted to no more than 2000 men and the Yorkists to 3000, so judiciously did Lord Clifford defend the place, that for some time victory was doubtful. But the Earl of Warwick Battle of St. Albans, May 22nd, 1455. (*Stowe's Transc. Harl. MS.* 545.)

A.D. 1455. seizing his opportunity, moved to the garden side of the town, and attacking it at the weakest point forced the barriers. The King and his nobles were foremost amongst the defenders, and fought hand to hand with the assailants, whilst York, keeping himself aloof, "placed himself upon a rising ground, from whence he observed all occurrences, and sent fresh soldiers to supply the places of such as were slain or wounded till at last from the inferior numbers of the Royal army, and the loss of its leaders, he obtained the victory. On the King's side were slain[24] the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford. The Duke of Buckingham, the Earls Stafford, Dorset, and Wiltshire and the Lord Sudeley were wounded, and according to contemporary authority six score[25] persons fell on the King's side, of which number, says the Harleian MS. were 14 squires, 1 gentleman, 4 yeomen, and 25 whose names were unknown. Abbot Wethemstede saw himself, "here one lying with his brains dashed out, here another without his arm; some with arrows in their throats, others pierced in their chests." The King himself was wounded in the neck, and sought refuge in the house of a tanner,[26] where he was found by the Duke of York, who conducted him the next day with all seeming respect to London. The town was given up to plunder, and thus commenced that fearful Civil War, which continued with slight intermission to devastate the country for thirty years.

(*England's Succession*, p. 128.)

The Duke of York victorious.

(*Whethempstede*, p. 353.)

The King taken prisoner.

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[24] "Every man fought with as much fierceness as if they had taken up a resolution, that not a man in the whole field should have survived the Battle."—(*Engl. Succession*, p. 128.)

[25] Fenn's Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 100. "There was at most slain [x] vi. Score; and as for the Lords that were with the King, they and their men were plundered and spoiled out of all their harness and horses." Stowe says 48 of those who fell on the Royal side were buried in the Abbey of St. Albans.—(p. 400.)

[26] "Having found Henry in a poor man's house whither he had withdrawn himself, he carried him from thence with all seeming respect, telling him that Somerset's death, had established his throne, and settled his crown the firmer upon his head."—(*Engiand's Succession*, p. 129.)

The Duke's army suffered less. He was accompanied by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the Lords Cobham and Falconbridge, but so complete was his victory that he lost scarcely any person of note. Treason prospered for awhile, and summoning a parliament in the King's name at Westminster "he procured all things that had been acted, from the very first day of Henry's reign, to that time, to be reversed; himself, Salisbury and Warwick with the rest of their Associates, to be indemnified, from future punishment, for their late insurrection. And as for a foundation whereon he intended to raise the superstructure of his designed monarchy, he caused himself and his two chief confederates Salisbury and Warwick to be elected into a triumvirate;[27] whereby he left nothing remaining to Henry, but the bare title of King, for all power and authority was vested in those three: the *Political,* in himself, being made Constable or Governour of the Kingdom; the *Civil,* in Salisbury, who was made Lord Chancellor; and the *Military* in Warwick, who was appointed to the Government of Calais." The following letters addressed to William Wyrcester, give many circumstances connected with this first battle of St. Albans and the subsequent events, which have been passed over by historians.

A.D. 1455.

Parliament assembled, July 9th.—(*England's Succession*, p. 129.)

York, Salisbury, and Warwick, form a Triumvirate.

(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 105 to p. 113.)

"*To William Wyrcester, be this letter delivered in haste.*"

Letters to William Wyrcester.

Sir,

I recommend me to you, and as for tidings ye may inform mine Master that for new(*s*), there is none but that he hath knowledge of.

But that the King, the Queen and the Prince, remove to Hertford tomorrow without fault; my Lord

The Rival Peers separate till the

[27] "My Lord of York is made Constable of England; my Lord of Warwick is made Captain of Calais; my Lord Bourchier is made Treasurer of England."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 103.)

A. D. 1455. meeting of Parliament. of York to the Friars at Ware; my Lord of Warwick to Hunsdon, the Earl of Salisbury to Rye, and there they shall abide to the time the Parliament begins. The

The Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Wiltshire make their peace. Duke of Buckingham is come in, and sworn that he shall be ruled, and draw the line with them; and thereto he and his brothers be bound by recognizance in notable sums to abide the same.

The Earl of Wiltshire sent to the Lords, from a place of his, called Petersfield, a letter desiring to know if he should come and abide about the King's person as he did before, and if he should not then that they would license him to go into Ireland, and live there upon his lands &c.

And before this done, the Lords were advised to have made him to do as the Duke of Buckingham hath done and no more; but what that will fall now thereof, no man can tell as yet.

Lords Dudley and Dorset in ward. The Baron of Dudley is in the Tower, what shall come of him God wot.

The Earl of Dorset is in ward with the Earl of Warwick.

It was said forsooth, that Harper and two other of the King's Chamber, were confederated to (*have*) sticked (*stabbed*) the Duke of York in the King's chamber, but it was not so, for they have cleared them thereof.

But London upon the same tale arisen and every man to harness on Corpus Christi Even (5th of June) and much ado there was.

Sir William Oldhall abideth no longer in Sanctuary, than, (*till*) the chief Justice come; for (*at*) that time he shall go at large and sue all his matters himself etc.

The Baron Dudley hath impeached many men; but what they be, as yet we cannot weet.

Sir Philip Wentworth and others at St. Albans. Sir Philip Wentworth was in the Field, and bore the King's Standard, and cast it down and fled; my Lord of Norfolk saith, he shall be hanged therefor, and so is

he worthy; he is in Suffolk now, he dares not come about the King. A.D. 1455.

Edmund Standale was with Wenlock there in the field and fouly hurt.

Fylongley is at home at his own place with his wife, and shall do right well, but we have a great loss of his absence this term, for it will be long ere he come this term, I am afraid.

All the Lords that died at the Journey (*Battle*) are buried at Saint Alban's.

Other things be none here, but ye shall see by Thomas Scales' letter the rule of the Frenchmen etc.

God speed us well in our matters this term, I pray to God, who have you in his keeping etc.

W. B.

London
June 1455.

Unto my most faithful brethren, John Bocking and William Worcester, and to either of them. Henry Windsor's letter.

Worshipful Sir, and my most heartily and best beloved Brother. I recommend me unto you in more lordly wise, than I can either think or write; and with all my service and true heart thank you of your gentle letters, full brotherly written unto me at many times of old, and in especial of late time passed. And truly brother I thank Almighty God of your welfare, of the which the Bearer of this my poor letter certified me of etc.

And Sir, as touching all manner of new tidings, I know well ye are avarous (*desirous*); truly the day of making of this letter, there were none new, but such (*as*) I heard of, ye shall be served withal.

As for the first, the King, our Sovereign Lord, and all his true Lords stand in health of their bodies, but not all at heart's-ease as we amongst others marvel. Differences at Court.

A.D. 1455. Quarrel between Warwick and Lord Cromwell.

Two days before the writing of this letter there was language between my Lords of Warwick and Cromwell before the King; insomuch as the Lord Cromwell would have excused himself of all the stirring or moving of the mail journey (*battle*) of St. Alban's; of the which excuse making, my Lord Warwick had knowledge, and in haste was with the King and swore by his oath, that the Lord Cromwell said not truth, but that he was the Beginner of all that journey at St. Alban's; and so between my said two Lords of Warwick and Cromwell, there is at this day great grudging, insomuch so, the Earl of Shrewsbury hath lodged him at the Hospital of St. James[28] beside the Mews, by the Lord Cromwell's desire, for his safe guard.

And also all my Lord of Warwick's men, my Lord of York's men, and also my Lord of Salisbury's men, go with harness, and in harness, with strange weapons, and have stuffed their Lord's barges full of weapons, daily unto Westminster.

And the day of making this letter there was a Proclamation made in the Chancery on the King's behalf; that no man should neither bear weapon nor wear harness defensible, &c.

The Duke of Somerset, Mr. Speaker Thorp, and W. Joseph outlawed.

Also the day before the making of this letter, there passed a Bill both by the King, Lords, and Commons, putting Thorp, Joseph, and my Lord of Somerset in all the default, by the which Bill, all manner of actions

Full pardon granted to the Yorkists.

that should grow to any person or persons, for any offences at that journey done, in any manner of wise should be extinct and void, affirming all things done there, well done, and nothing done there never after this time to be spoken of; to the which Bill many a man grudged full sore now it is passed.

And if (*that*) might be recommended, unto my special

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[28] St. James's Palace now occupies this site.

Master and yours, with all lowliness and true service, I beseech you (*as*) heartily as I can. A.D. 1455.

And also to my brethren Th. upon Lode, Wick of Pole, William Lynd, Calyn and John Marshall.

No more, but our Lord have you both in his perpetual keeping.

Written at London on Saint Margaret's Even in haste; and after this is read and understood, I pray you burn or break (*tear*) it, for I am loath to write any thing of my Lord, but I must needs, there is nothing else to write. Amen.

Your own
Henry Windsor.

In the early part of the ensuing June the King again gave symptoms of declining health, for the order bearing the date of the 5th of that month commands the attendance of the Dean of Salisbury on the King, as physician, and states that "His Majesty then laboured with sickness and infirmities." Parliament met in July, and York and his confederates took a solemn oath of allegiance to King Henry. Laying his hand on his breast, and taking the King by the hand the Duke said: "I shall truly and faithfully keep the liegeance that I owe unto you, my most Sovereign Lord; and to do all that may be to the welfare, honour and safeguard of your most noble person, and royal estate, pre-eminence and prerogative. And I shall, at no time, will or consent to that which might in anywise be to the prejudice of your person, dignity, crown or estate; and I shall, with all my power, resist and withstand all them that would presume to attempt the contrary." This oath was repeated by the Duke of Buckingham and the other peers kneeling, requesting at the same time the King to shew no more grace to the Duke of York, or others, whoever attempted similar hostilities. Upon this the parliament was prorogued to the 12th of November.

(*Rymer*, vol. xi. p. 366.)

The Yorkists take a fresh oath of allegiance.—(*Rolls*, vol. v. p. 282.)

A.D. 1455. (*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 119.)

The King appears to have been at Hertford in October, "and to have been sick again," and accordingly in November the Duke of York opened parliament, as the King's lieutenant. A farce was carried on in both houses,[29] in the last act of which the ambitious Duke was appointed Protector and Defender of the Kingdom, with an income of 3,000 marks, which office was only to cease when Prince Edward reached the years of discretion, if he should then wish to assume it himself. The Duke played his part to admiration, excused himself from the task, whilst his creatures expostulated in both houses, the commons claiming his protection to suppress the illegal acts of Lord Bonville and the Earl of Devon, and the Lord Chancellor consulting the Lords, on the necessity of his appointment. On the 17th of November his scruples were removed, and having by his cunning obtained his desired object, he publicly accepted the trust, and in the middle of December prorogued parliament for a month.

York appointed Lord Protector.

The Duke of York, to render his high station the more secure, had inserted a clause in the patent, by which it was enacted that he should only be removed by the voice of parliament. He now took steps to retain a majority in that Assembly. He called Sir Thomas Stanley and Sir Richard Welles to the house of Peers, the one as Lord Stanley of Latham, and the other as Lord Willoughby. From authentic sources we find the House of Lords then consisted of 2 Archbishops (the Cardinal Bourchier, and Dr. William Booth) 2 Dukes,

Creates Peers.

(*Parliamentary Rolls*, vol. v. p. 582.)

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[29] The same Parliament amused itself with a reform in the abuse of law processes far more stringent than any thing proposed in the present day. It enacted "that as there were fourscore attornies or more, in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and the City of Norwich, *most of whom had no other thing to live upon but their practice*, and the major part were not of sufficient knowledge; that therefore from henceforth, there should be but *six* Common attornies in the County of Norfolk, the same number in the County of Suffolk, and *two* in the City of Norwich, upon pain of forfeiting twenty pounds."—(*Statutes*, 33 *Henry VI. Chap.* 7.)

11 Bishops, 6 Earls, 2 Viscounts, 18 Abbots, 2 Priors, and 17 Barons. Lulled into security by the exercise of full regal power, he appeared willing to await his opportunity for taking the final step which would place the crown on his head. The King and Queen were left at liberty, the former mostly residing in the quiet of his palace at Sheen, the latter with the young Prince in the strong holds of the Lancastrians, at Tutbury in Staffordshire, or Chester, her motions, however, carefully watched by the Duke of York, from his Castle of Sendal.

A.D. 1456. (*Rymer*, vol. xi. p. 370.)

The King at Sheen; and the Queen at Tutbury.—(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 133 and 135.)

(*Ibid.* p. 137.)

The King having again recovered from the attack of his malady met Parliament on it's reassembling in January, and on the 25th of the ensuing month the Duke of York at the request of the Queen, was discharged of his office of Lord Protector, the King having personally called upon the House to rescind the appointment. With apparent willingness he descended from his high station, the Earl of Salisbury again resigning the great seal into the hands of the Cardinal Archbishop in the beginning of the March following, and thus the principal offices in the state were filled again by the King's friends.

The King's recovery.

Meeting of Parliament, Jan. 14th.

Resignation of Somerset and Salisbury.

The Duke and the two earls retired into Yorkshire, and "though apparently separated they held frequent secret conferances together, at which several other lords of their party were present." It was currently reported that in an affray between the Lords Beaumont and Warwick, the former was slain "and my Lord Warwick sore hurt, 1000 men slain, and six score Knights and Squires hurt; and nothing true, blessed be God." These idle rumours kept the nation in a continual state of excitement, and added much to the ferocity of the times.

(*Rapin*, vol. v. p. 482.)

(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 133.)

These disputes of the great were extremely prejudicial to the commerce of the country, and serious disturbances took place between the English and Foreign merchants, often ending in bloodshed and murder. The Duke of

A.D. 1456. York is generally supposed to have instigated the mob on one of these occasions, which has been recorded by most of our annalists, when the populace overawed the power of the crown, which the Duke had just surrendered again into the hands of Henry.

(*Fabyan, Hall, Stowe.*)

Serious riot in London.—(*Grafton*, p. 629.)

"A young merchant which before time had been in divers cities, within the country of Italy, and there prohibited by the magistrates and rulers to use or wear any weapons, either invasive or defensive, challenged an Italian in Cheapside, for wearing of a dagger confuting him with the laws of his own country, which like a choleric knave and presumptuous person, so disdainfully and with such taunts and checks answered the Merchant, that he not willing to suffer so open a reproach, in so public a street, and that of so proud a villain, took by force from him his dagger, and with the same a little cut his crown and cracked his pate. This Italian in great haste complained to the Mayor of this offence, which at the next Court, holden at the Guildhall, by the consent of the whole senate, sent for the offender, and declaring to him his crime, commanded him to ward, whereof divers other light merchants within the City, sore abhorring the Italian nation, for licking the fat from their beards, and taking from them their accustomed living, by reason that the said strangers imported and transported into and out of this realm, all such merchandize, commodities and necessaries, as the Englishmen only were accustomed to do, assembled together in great plumpes (*masses*) and by force compelled the Mayor to deliver the prisoner out of Newgate; and yet this multitude, with this doing, nothing satiate nor appeased, like mad persons, and frantic fools, ran to the several houses of divers Venetians, Luccaens, and Florentines, and them spoiled, robbed and rifled, without reason or measure. The Mayor perceiving this great enormity, assembled a great number of substantial and grave Citizens, which not without great blood-

shed, and maiming of sundry persons, finally appeased their rage, and caused the people to depart to their houses. The beginner of this commotion and sudden uproar, either persuaded by his friends or fearing his chance, which for his first fact might suddenly ensue, departed to Westminster, and there registered himself as a sanctuary man. The Queen which ruled all things, hearing of this great riot and unlawful misdemeanor, sent the Dukes of Exeter and Buckingham accompanied with many other noble men to London with a commission of oyer and determiner, for the punishment of this outrageous offence and seditious crime. When the Mayor of the City, the two Dukes, and the two chief justices, were set in Guildhall for the performance of their commission and began to call the empanels for the inquiry as the use and order is, divers light witted, and less brained persons of the city, privily armed them and by the ringing of Bow Bell, thought to assemble together a great multitude of their mind and opinion and so by force and might to take from the keepers all such prisoners, as were before apprehended, for the late committed robbery and riot, as they were going to their trial or arraignment.

A.D. 1456. Serious riot in London.

But this great tumult and sudden fury was by discreet and sage Citizens a little and little appeased, and finally quenched, but in the mean season, the Dukes and other commissioners, being untruely advertized, that they were in jeopardy of their lives, suddenly departed from the Guildhall, and left their inquiry for that day. The Mayor on the next day perceiving how the grudge rose, called a common council, whereof the number was one hundred, four score and odd persons, and by authority of the same, ordained that all wardens of mysteries should assemble their fellowship in their particular Halls, where they should exhort them to the observation of the King's peace, and keeping of good order within the City; and if they espied any man, either prone or ready to raise a

A.D. 1456. Serious riot in London.

rumour desirous of the deliverance of such as were accused, and in captive custody, that their names should be secretly written, and covertly delivered to the Lord Mayor; which politic doing, finally ended the outrageous doing of the insolent people, after which appeasing, the commissioners returned to the Guildhall, where many of the robbers were attainted, and after(*wards*) condignly put to execution, besides divers great fines and ransoms paid which were set upon many merchants for winking at these doings or assenting to the same.

The King's progress into Warwickshire.

Under pretence of change of air the Court removed to Coventry, that the King might enjoy the sports of the field. The Duke of York, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick "were invited by letters under the King's own hand to attend at Court, where affairs of the utmost importance required their advice." The object of the Queen was to break up their confederacy, and aware that they would be less powerful at Coventry than in London she sought thus to ensnare them into her power.

(*Rapin*, vol. v. p. 483.) The Rebel Lords invited;

(*Ibid.*)

"The Duke of York had not yet done anything openly which shewed that he aspired to the crown. This was a secret between him and his principal friends. It is very true the Court was persuaded of it, but it was not possible to convict him. Hitherto he had varnished his actions with the good of the Publick, and for that very reason was formidable to the Court;" but, however artfully he concealed his designs from the people, he knew that the Queen perfectly understood the part he was playing, and would not scruple to employ any means to counteract his plans. Nevertheless the King's invitation was accepted, but warned by private emissaries of the danger that awaited them, they hastily separated without entering the town, the Duke withdrawing to his stronghold of Wigmore, in Wales; Salisbury to Middleham, and Warwick to Calais, and although they defeated by so doing the Queen's object, they were rendered less formidable than when acting in concert.

but made aware of the Queen's designs, they separate.

Two years passed over without any occurrence of importance to the rival houses. Some predatory incursions of the Scots, and a buccaneering expedition from France,[30] under the command of Sir Piers de Bracy and the Count de Pomiers, may have recalled them to a sense of the danger their common country was placed in by their continual quarrels. Henry, almost the only impartial person in the country, during his quiet seclusion, whilst reading his books alone, formed the noble resolution of reconciling the conflicting interests of both parties, by the sacrifice of his own feelings and the emoluments of the crown. He invited the chief lords of each to London, permitting them to appear with armed retainers sufficient to prevent any sudden treachery which each expected from the other. "The Duke of York came to London with his own household only, to the number of 140 horse, as it is said, (and took up his abode at Baynard's Castle;[31]) the Earl of Salisbury with 400 horse in his company, four score knights and squires; the Duke of Somerset came to London (*the*) last day of January, with 200 horse, and lodgeth without Temple Bar."[32] The Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Egremont and Clifford had fifteen hundred retainers, and were quartered in the King's Mews at Charing, probably where the present noble mansion of the Duke of Northumberland now stands. Warwick received permission to bring over 24 foreigners from Calais, besides his English retinue, and arrived in Feb-

A.D. 1457. French and Scotch predatory incursions.

A.D. 1458. (*Whethempstede*, p. 418.) Henry strives to reconcile both parties.

They arrive in London.—(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 151.) January 31st.

(*Stowe*, p. 403.)

(*Rymer*, vol. xi. p. 408.)

[30] Sir Piers de Bracy pillaged Sandwich, then neither peopled nor fortified on account of the plague having broken out in the town; and the Count contented himself with plundering the little town of Foy in Cornwall, exploits utterly unworthy of the great forces placed at their disposal.

[31] Baynard's Castle is still preserved in name in Upper Thames Street. Stowe says the Duke had 400 followers.

[32] The present Somerset House stands upon the site of the old Ducal Palace. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the latter residing at his house near the Duke of Somerset, numbered no less than 800 armed retainers.

A.D. 1458. February. ruary, having been detained by adverse winds, and went with a large body of retainers to the Grey Friars.[33]

March 27. In the month of March the King and Queen arrived, and made the Bishop's palace[34] their residence. So great was the influx of armed men that Sir Godfrey Boleyn,[35] the Mayor, had daily 5000 citizens well armed by day, and half that number by night to guard the city.

(*Fabyan*, p. 463.)

(*Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 178.) Stowe records "a fray in Fleet Street between men of the Court and the inhabitants of the same street, in which fray the Queen's Attorney was slain. For this fact the King committed the Governors of Furnivall's, Clifford, and Barnard's Inns to prison, and William Taylor, alderman of the ward, and many others were sent to Windsor Castle."

Outward reconciliation, April 5th. By the exertions of the Cardinal Archbishop, at length an outward reconciliation was effected, and the following short letter addressed to Sir John Fastolf at Caistor shows how difficult a task his Grace had undertaken.

Letter to Sir John Fastolf. —(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 155.)

"Like it your Mastership to weet, that as for tidings, the Council is, the forenoon, at the Black Friars, for the ease of resorting of the Lords that are within the Town; and, at afternoon, at the White Friars in Fleet Street, for the Lords without the Town; and all things shall come to a good conclusion with God's Grace; for the King shall come hither this week, and the Queen also, as some men say, and my Lords Buckingham and Stafford with her and much people.

My Lord of Canterbury taketh great pain upon him daily, and will write unto you the certainty of such

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[33] The Earl of Warwick's house was in Warwick Lane. His retainers were dressed in scarlet, embroidered with white ragged staves, before and behind. Stowe says they amounted to 600 men.

[34] The Bishop's Palace was near St. Paul's.

[35] "This Sir Godfrey Boleyn was Ancestor to two famous Queens; Anna, wife of Henry VIII. and his daughter Queen Elizabeth."—(*Rapin.*)

tidings as fall; and should have done ere this time, save for that he would know an end of the matter. A.D. 1458. Letter to Sir John Fastolf.

Other tidings here are none, save my Lord of Exeter is displeased that the Earl of Warwick shall keep the Sea, and hath therefore received this week £1000 of the Hanaper.

The messenger was on horseback when I wrote you this Bill, and therefore it was done in haste, and our Lord Jesu keep you. Written at London the Wednesday after Midlent.

And my Lord of Canterbury told me that the Frenchmen have been before you, and that ye shot many Guns, and so he told all the Lords.

I have desired him to move the Council for refreshing of the Town of Yarmouth with stuff of Ordnance, and Guns and Gunpowder, and he said he would.

Your Humble Servant,

John Bocking."

London,

Wednesday, 15*th of March*, 1458.

A Public Procession was made to St. Pauls "for the open appearance and demonstration of this godly concord, on the day of the conception of our Lady, in the month of March, (*April 5th*) at which solemn feast, the King in habit royal, having his diadem on his head, kept his estate in procession, before whom went hand in hand, the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Salisbury, the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Warwick, and so one of the one faction and another of the sect, and behind the King the Duke of York led the Queen, with great familiarity, to all men's sights." But this was a mere pageant, and the proud spirits who now walked hand in hand, had been taught to imagine that the ceremonial absolution of the mechanical worship of their religion would free them from the crime of hypocrisy and deceit. April 5th. (*Grafton*, p. 633.) Procession to St. Paul's.

A.D. 1458. This event is recorded in the following ballad.

(*Contemporary Ballad quoted by Turner.*)

"Wisdom and wealth, with all pleasance
May rightful reign, and prosperity;
For love hath underlaid wrathful vemaunce.
Rejoice England! our Lords accorded be!
In York, in Somerset, as I understand,
In Warwick also, is love and charity;
In Salisbury eke, and in Northumberland,
That every man may rejoice, Concord and Unity!

Egremont and Clifford, with other aforesaid,
Be set in the same opinion,
In every quarter love is thus laid;
Grace and Wisdom have thus the dominion!
Awake! wealth! and walk in this region,
Round about in town and city,
And thank them that brought it to this conclusion.
Rejoice! England! to Concord and Unity!

At Paul's in London, with great renown,
On our Ladyday in Lent, this peace was wrought.
The King, the Queen, with Lords many one
To worship that Virgin as they ought,
Went in procession and spared right nought
In sight of all the commonality,
In token that love was in heart and thought,
Rejoice! England! to Concord and Unity!"

There are several other similar verses of this ballad which shows how grateful this apparent reconciliation was to the great mass of the people.

Quarrel between the royal servants and Lord Warwick's retainers.—(*Grafton*, p. 635.)

A petty fray between two menials, within a few weeks of the imposing ceremony of the general reconciliation, undid in an instant all that had been effected by the anxious solicitude of the King and the Lord Cardinal. A servant of the King's household attacked a yeoman of the Earl of Warwick, when the latter wounded his adversary severely and fled. The King's menials seeing their fellow servant thus hurt and his enemy fled, waylaid the Earl of Warwick on his return from the Council, and attacked him, the yeomen with swords, the black

guards [38] with spits and fire forks. "After a long fight, A.D. 1458. and many of the Earl's men maimed and wounded, by help of his friends, he took a wherry, and so escaped to London; whom the Queen incontinent commanded to be apprehended, and as a captive and prisoner, to be sent to the Tower of London, where (if he had been then taken) he had shortly ended his days. By this unhappy fray, and sudden chance of malice, there arose such daily and terrible war, that every man was in trouble, and no person was in quiet. For after this displeasure done to the Earl, and the Queen's good mind towards him by his secret friends privily revealed, he with all diligence, took his journey to Warwick, and after into Yorkshire, where he found the Duke of York, and the Earl of Salisbury, declaring to them the assault of the King's servants, and the pretended purpose of the fraudulent Queen. After which complaint made, he fearing lest by long absence, he might be deposed or defrauded of his Captainship of Calais, with great speed embarked himself, and sailed thither, daily expecting and looking, what way the Duke of York would take, for atchieving his long intended purpose. After whose departure, the Duke of York, and the Earl of Salisbury, somewhat stirred, and moved with this double dealing, began to grudge and murmur; affirming that in the Queen rested nothing but fraud and feminine malice, which ruling the King at her pleasure and will, studied nothing so much, as the destruction of the nobility, and peers of the realm. After long consultation had, it was agreed, that the Earl with a warlike company should march toward the King, and complain both to him of

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[38] Black-guards. "In all great houses, but particularly in the Royal Residences, there were a number of mean and dirty dependants, whose office it was to attend the wood-yards, sculleries, etc. Of these the most forlorn wretches seem to have been selected to carry coals to the kitchens, halls, &c. To this smutty regiment, who attended the progresses, and rode in the carts with the pots and kettles, the people, in derision, gave the name of 'BLACK-GUARDS.'"—(*Gifford.*)

A.D. 1459. the manifest injury done to his son, and also of the unkind breach of the sworn amity and late agreement, in which suit, if he did prevail, he then should not omit the occasion to him given, in revenging the displeasures to him done, by the Queen and her sinister councilors, which evil and ungodly, ordered the subjects of the whole realm."

As it was now evident to the leaders of both parties, that neither could trust the other, and accordingly that the only resource left was an appeal to arms, preparations were made to meet the coming crisis, publicly on the part of the King, and secretly on the part of the confederated Lords. The King despatched letters under his privy seal in April 1459 summoning the attendance of the nobility and gentry "to be with him at Leicester on the 10th day of May, with as many persons defensibly arrayed, as they might according to their degree, and that they should bring with them for their expenses for two months." The Yorkists had arranged to unite at Kenilworth, but the King being apprized of their movements hastened to intercept the Earl of Salisbury, who finding himself anticipated by the rapid march of the Royal Army, was driven to make a larger circuit than he had contemplated. Unexpectedly he came upon a troop of Royalists under the Command of Lord Audley at Bloreheath in Staffordshire, amounting to 5000 men, whom he defeated by a stratagem, and Lord Audley was slain.[39] This enabled him to join the Duke of York at Ludeford, near Ludlow, where the Earl of Warwick also met them with a large force of veterans from Calais.

The King's forces assembled at Leicester, May 10, 1459.—(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 175.)

Battle of Bloreheath, 23 Sep. 1459.

Warwick justifies his conduct.—(*Harleian MSS.* 543, p. 164.)

Warwick justified the steps taken by the confederates in the following Articles, which he dispersed on his March. "I. That the Commonweal and good politic

[39] Besides Lord Audley the Royalists lost Sir Hugh Venables, Sir Thomas Dutton, Sir John Dunne, Sir Richard Molineux, Sir John Heigh, etc. etc.

laws had been piteously overturned. II. That the crown property had been outrageously spoiled and robbed. III. That sufficient was scarcely left for the sustentation of the royal household. IV. That the merchants and people had, by illegal novelties, suffered great extortions, without payment, from the Ministers of the King's household. V. That the Government permitted great and abominable murders, robberies, perjuries and extortions; and favoured and cherished instead of punishing them. VI. That the King from his own blessed conversation, and noble disposition, graciously applied himself to the commonweal; but that certain persons, from their covetousness, and (*in order*) that they might rule, had hidden all these evils from him." The intention of the great lords, he added, was to beseech the King, as true subjects, by the advice of those of his own blood to redress all these evils, thus explaining their desire to change the administration, without altering the dynasty. A.D. 1459.

The royal army continued to increase, and rapidly moved towards Ludlow, offering grace to all that would depart from the rebels, and pardon to York and Warwick, if within six days they should request it. These offers were not accepted, and the following reasons assigned for declining them. "I. Other pardons have been granted, but they availed nothing. II. The King degraded both the Duke and the Earl to the nobles and commons; and had neither summoned them to his council, nor parliament. III. The King's relatives, with pride and obstinacy, did as they pleased. IV. The Nobles ought to have been called to parliament, and have perfect liberty to go, stay or depart; yet the Earl of Warwick had been wilfully so surrounded and pressed at Westminster, that but for the unexpected aid which rescued him, he would certainly have been destroyed." The confederates sent a letter to the King from Ludlow on the 10th of October, couched in firm but respectful

Henry offers terms to the rebels.

Their reasons for declining them.—(*Whethempstede*, p. 457.)

A.D. 1459. Oct. 10. They desire the King's forbearance. —(*Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 405.)

language: "We beseech your good Grace to receive our said truth and intent; and not apply your said blessedness, nor the great righteousness and equity, wherewith God hath ever endued your high nobility, to the importunity, impatience, and violence of such persons as intend of extreme malice to proceed, under shadow of your high might and presence, to our destruction, for such inordinate covetousness as they have to our Lands, Offices, and Goods." They added that "they would not use their defence until the time that they should be provoked of necessity."

The Duke of York at Ludlow, Oct. 13, 1459.

The terms of reconciliation having failed to bring about so desirable an object both armies prepared for battle on the 13th of October. The Duke of York to inspire greater courage in his men resorted to a gross falsehood, which ultimately proved his own ruin. In the front of his army he caused masses to be said for the soul of the King, having brought forward persons to swear that he had expired suddenly the day before. This roused up the blood of the Plantagenets in the breast of Henry. "He addressed his troops so knightlily, so manly, and so comfortwise; with so princely a port and assured manner, that the lords and people took great joy, and only desired to fulfil his courageous desire." On York's followers learning the deceit that had been practiced upon them they became disheartened, and Sir Andrew Trollope deserting during the darkness of the night to the Royal troops completed their dismay. York saw the necessity of sounding a retreat, and at midnight a general dispersion took place. The Duke hastened with his son, the young Duke of Rutland, to Ireland passing through his Welsh property; the Earl of March, now eighteen years of age, accompanied by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick retreated to Devonshire; whilst the Bishop of Exeter, brother to the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Grey and several others submitted to the King. After the Duke's departure "Henry rode into Ludlow, and spoiled

His trickery discovered.

(*Parl. Rolls*, vol. v. p. 348.)

Sir Andrew Trollope deserts to Henry.

Dispersion of the rebels. (*Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 181.)

the town and castle, whereat he found the Duchess of York with her two young sons, then children, the which Duchess King Henry sent to her sister, Anne Duchess of Buckingham." Immediately after this a parliament was summoned to meet at Coventry on the 20th of November following, and on it's assembling the following persons were attainted and their estates confiscated. A.D. 1459. (*Hearne's Fragment*, p. 5.) Henry despoils Ludlow.

"The Duke of York, the Earl of March, the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Salisbury, the Lord Powis, the Lord Clinton, the Countess of Salisbury, Sir Thomas Neville, Sir John Neville, Sir Thos. Harrington, Sir Thos. Parr, Sir John Conyers, Sir John Wenlock, Sir William Oldhall, Edward Bourchier, Sq. and his brother, Thos. Vaughan, Thos. Colt, Thos. Clay, John Dinham, Thos. Moring, John Otter, Master Richard Fisher, Hastings and others. As for the Lord Powis he came in, and had grace for his life, but as for his goods, the forfeiture passed." The Rebel Lords attainted at Coventry, Nov. 20th. —(*Fenn's Letters*, vol. i. p. 182.)

Thus the party of York seemed destroyed, and the House of Lancaster thought itself now securely seated on the throne. The Earl of Northumberland and Lord Clifford had the command of the North, and the Duke of Somerset was to supersede the Earl of Warwick in the Command of Calais. But Edward, the future sovereign of England, and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury by the assistance of John Dinham, included in the act of attainder, procured a ship at Exeter, which conveyed them to Guernsey. Here they secreted themselves till the 2nd of November and then sailed privately to Calais, where they were admitted by the Lord Falconbridge through a postern gate, and enthusiastically received by the troops. The Duke of Somerset vainly attempted to take the place, and to his succour the Lords Rivers and Scales were sent with a fleet from Sandwich. The illsuccess of this expedition is ironically mentioned in a letter of William Wyrcester, and William Paston in the letter quoted below gives a curious Duke of Somerset appointed to the command of Calais. Edward, Warwick, and Salisbury, flee to Calais. Somerset's unsuccessful attempt to take Calais. (*Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 185.)

A.D. 1459. scene which took place on the captured admiral and his son being brought into the presence of the Yorkist nobles.

Sir John Dinham captures the Royal Fleet and the Earl Rivers.—(*William Wyrcester*, p. 478.)

Warwick formed the bold design of seizing the whole fleet before it left the channel, and entrusted this important service to Sir John Dinham, who afterwards became Lord High Treasurer to King Henry the Seventh. So ably was this plan executed that Lord Rivers and his son were surprized whilst in bed, and carried with all the shipping to Calais. After stating that the Lord Chancellor was gone to the King on account of Lord Rivers' capture at Sandwich, William Paston informs us that the latter "was brought to Calais, and before the Lords, with eight score torches, and there my Lord Salisbury rated him, calling him 'Knave's son, that he should be so rude to call him, and these other Lords traitors; for they should be found the King's true liege men, when he would be found a traitor.' And my Lord Warwick rated him, and said, 'that his father was but a squire, and brought up with King Henry the Fifth, and since made himself by marriage, and also made a Lord; and that it was not his part to hold such language of Lords, being of the King's blood.' And my Lord March rated him likewise. And Sir Anthony was rated for his language of all the three Lords in likewise."

A.D. 1460. January. (*Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 187.)

Cause of the future animosity between the families of Neville and Woodville.

To this circumstance must be traced much of the ill blood which rankled in the bosoms of the father and brother of the future Queen of England, and which upon the Earl of March, afterwards becoming King, and confiding almost unlimited power to the Woodvilles caused the destruction of the house of Neville.

Duke of York in Ireland.—(*Whethempstede*, p. 474, and *Fenn*, vol. i. p. 185.)

Nor was the Duke of York's reception in Ireland less enthusiastic, where "he was hailed as another Messiah," and "strengthened with his earls and homagers." The Royalists were already convinced that their temporary success at Ludlow was of no avail, and "as the King came towards London he raised the people, and sent

commissions into divers shires, that every man be ready in his best array, to come when he should send for him." Another naval force was stationed at Sandwich to assist Somerset in his attempt on Calais, but was attended with the like ill success; being driven into Calais and secured, and the Lord Audley taken prisoner. A.D. 1460. Henry's preparations for war.—(*Ibid.* 189.) Lord Audley taken prisoner by Warwick.

"Shortly after this the Earl of Warwick passed with many ships filled with armed men, by the coasts of England into Ireland. The Duke of Exeter, the Lord High Admiral with a large fleet, was ordered to capture the Earl. Nevertheless the Earl of Warwick having consulted the Duke of York in Ireland as to his future plans, returned with his mother the Countess of Salisbury, with his fleet. And towards the Feast of the Pentecost, he met the ships of the Duke of Exeter, off the coast of Cornwall, and notwithstanding their superior number, through the supineness and deception of the sailors and others, he was allowed to pass to Calais without fighting." (*William Wyrcester*, p. 479.) Warwick proceeds to Ireland, and passes the Royal fleet on his return.

"Not long after Osbert Mountford was ordered with five hundred armed men to Guisnes to the assistance of the Duke of Somerset. And in the Town of Sandwich he was captured by John Dinham, John Wenlock and others from Calais, to which place he was conveyed, and beheaded on the 25th of June; and in this skirmish in Sandwich the said John Dinham was badly wounded in the leg by a bombard." Capture of Mountford.

The result of the conference at Dublin was soon apparent. The Yorkists every where were called upon by their leaders to prepare for action, whilst a report was spread that Henry disavowed the act of attainder and was little more than a prisoner in the hands of a faction. The victories at Sandwich gave the command of that part of the coast to the confederated nobles, who soon ascertained that the feelings of the multitude were with them provided they attempted nothing against the person of the King. On the 5th of June the Earls of Salisbury The Yorkists prepare for action. June 5th,

A.D. 1460. they land at Sandwich and are joined by the Kentish men.

and Warwick landed at Sandwich with 2000 men, from whence they marched by way of Canterbury direct to London, their numbers increasing on their way to forty thousand men,[40] and being accompanied by the Pope's legate throughout the journey.

(*Whethempstede*, p. 479, and *W. Wyrcester*, p. 480.)

A memorial of the time issued by the Kentish men accounts for the rapid success of this movement. There was no disloyalty to the King, nor personal attachment to the House of York; the latter was considered the leader of the liberal party in the state, the advocate for freedom of opinion in religious matters, and the redressor of public grievances, whilst the advisers of the former were supposed to support public abuses, and to resist the desired improvements.

The Kentish Memorial.—(*Harleian MSS.* 543.)

"*These be the Points and Causes of the gathering and assembling of us, the King's true liegemen of Kent, the which we trust to remedy, with help of him, the King, our Sovereign Lord, and all the Commons of England.*[41]

1. The King, by the insatiable covetousness, malicious purpose, and false-brought-of-nought persons, daily and nightly about his Highness, is daily informed that good is evil and evil is good.

2. They say, that our Sovereign Lord is above law, and that the law was made but to his pleasure; and that he may make and break it as often as him list, without any distinction. The contrary is true. And also, that he should not have been sworn, in his coronation to keep it, which we conceive for the highest point of treason that

[40] On the authority of Whethempstede the number is stated at 40,000. William Wyrcester says "that when they reached Blackheath they had twenty thousand men."—(p. 480.) A clerical error substituting L for X will reconcile this discrepancy.

[41] These "Points and Causes" will be found in Turner's History of the Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 279.

any subject may do against his prince, to make him reign in perjury. A.D. 1460. The Kentish Memorial.

3. They say, how that the King should live upon his commons, so that all their bodies and goods be[en] his. The contrary is true; for then he need never to set parliament to assess any goods of them.

4. Item, they inform the King, how that the commons would first destroy the King's friends, and after himself and then bring in the duke of York to be their King; so that by these false mens' leasings,* they made him to hate and to destroy his very friends, and love his false traitors, that call themselves his friends.

5. They say, it is a great reproach to the King to reassume what he has given away for livelihood.

6. The false traitors will suffer no man to come into the King's presence, for no cause without he will give a bribe.

7. That the good Duke of Gloucester was impeached of treason by one false traitor alone. How soon was he murdered! and never might come to his answer. And that false traitor *Pole*, impeached by all the commonality of England, (the which number passed a quest of 24,000) might not be suffered to die as the law would, but rather these said traitors, at the said Pole's assent, that was as false as *Fortiger* would that the King should hold battle in his own realm, in the destruction of all his people, and of himself both.

8. They, whom the King will, shall be traitors, and whom he will not, shall be none.

9. The law seemeth only to do wrong.

10. That our Sovereign Lord may well understand that he hath had false counsel; *for his law* is lost, his merchandize is lost; his commerce (*hath*) been destroyed; the sea is lost; France is lost; himself is made so *poor, so that he may not pay* for his meat nor drink; he oweth *more, and is greater in debt*, than ever was King in Eng-

* "*Leasing:* a lying rumour, a false report."—(*Richardson.*)

A.D. 1460. The Kentish Memorial.

land. This notwithstanding, yet daily these said traitors that (*have*) been about him, awaiting when any thing should fall, and come to him, and profit by his law, they (*have*) been ready enough to ask it from him.

11. They ask gentleman's lands and goods in Kent, and call us risers and traitors, and the King's enemies; but we shall be found his true liegemen.

12. *We will* that all men know, that we neither rob nor steal; but the defaults, *amended*, we will *go home*. Wherefore we exhort all the King's true liegers to help and support us.

13. *We blame not all the lords* about the King's person, nor all gentlemen, nor all men of law, nor *all bishops*, nor *all priests;* but *only such as may* be found guilty, by a just and a true inquiry by the law."

The papers end with these words:

God be our guide,
And then we shall speed,
Whoever says, nay!

Thus the chief motive of the confederate Lords, the displacing of the House of Lancaster by the rival line of York, was carefully concealed by the leaders of the movement, though the immediate friends of the King were not deceived as to the real intentions of York and his followers. "The Lords Hungerford and Scales, with the sheriff of Kent, John Delamere of Berkshire, and many other armed men took possession of the Tower to prevent their entry into London. But on their reaching Southwark William Gray, Bishop of Ely, and George Neville, Bishop of Exeter met the Earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury, and led them into the City over the Bridge; and on the following morning they proceeded to St. Pauls church, and in the presence of Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the above-named Bishops they swore upon the Cross of St. Thomas of Canterbury, that they militated nothing against the allegiance they owed to King Henry."

The Royalists secure the Tower.—(*W. Wyrcester*, p. 480.)

The Bishops of Ely and Exeter admit the rebels.

"Having sent the Earl of Salisbury and Sir John Wenlock to besiege the Tower of London, the Earls of Warwick and March, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Exeter, proceeded with a large army toward Northampton, without the walls of which King Henry had fixed his camp. On the tenth of July a battle was fought there, and owing to the treachery and assistance (*afforded to the enemy*) by Lord Grey de Ruthin, the King lost the field. There perished Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, John Earl of Beaumont, Thomas Lord Egremont, and others to the number of three hundred men; whilst many were drowned in crossing the river in their flight. Towards the close of the battle the retainers of John Stafford killed Sir William Lucy, whose widow shortly after was wedded to their master." A.D. 1460. Battle of Northampton, July 10, 1460. (*W. Wyrcester*, p. 481; compare also *Whethempstede*, p. 480, 481.)

"Upon this Queen Margaret with the Prince fled from Eccleshall towards Chester, and was nearly taken prisoner by John Cleyer, a retainer of Lord Stanley, and was robbed of all her goods and jewels by her own servants; nevertheless she got safely with the young prince to her castle (*Harlech*) in Wales." The Queen flees with the Prince to Harlech, and thence to Scotland.

From thence Margaret fled into Scotland, whilst Henry who had fallen into the hands of the rebels, was conducted with all outward forms of state and ceremony to London, which he reached on the 16th of July, and where he was affectionately received by all classes, the confederates being thereby constrained to treat him with becoming decorum and reverence. Henry conducted by the Yorkists to London, July 16th.—(*Whethempstede*, p. 482.) (*W. Wyrcester*, p. 481.)

"The Lords Hungerford, and Scales and others who were in the Tower, delivered it up to the besiegers by capitulation, by which the besieged were to abide by the law, but the Lords Hungerford and Scales to go free." The Tower given up to them.—(*Ibid.* 482.)

"But on the following sabbath as Lord Scales, the godfather of the Earl of March, was crossing the Thames, he was murdered in a skirmish or quarrel by Murder of Lord Scales.

A.D. 1460. some seamen belonging to the Earls of Warwick and March, under the garden wall of the Bishop of Winchester's Palace on the Banks of the Thames, intending to have sought (*the sanctuary of*) Westminster. I saw him myself lying naked," adds Wyrcester, "in the cemetery of the Church of St. Mary Overy in Southwark. He had lain naked, being stripped of his clothes, for several hours on the ground, but afterwards on the same day he was honourably interred by the Earls of March, Warwick and others." In the same month of July "those who had been convicted by a Jury, before the Earl of Warwick and the other Justiciaries of the King, of illegally holding the Tower, namely Sir Thos. Blount, of Kent, with five others of the household of the Duke of Exeter, were drawn to Tyburn and beheaded, and shortly afterwards, John Archer, who was in the councils of the Duke of Exeter, shared the same fate." The Bishop of Exeter was made Chancellor of England, and (*Henry*) Lord Bourchier, Lord Treasurer.

The Royalists beheaded.—(*Ibid.* 483.)

Duke of York returns from Ireland.

The Duke of York came over from Ireland, and appears to have been employed in visiting various towns to punish loyalty to the King as a crime against the people. This we gather from the following interesting letter.

(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 199.)

"*To the right worshipful Sir and Master, John Paston Esquire, at Norwich, be this Letter delivered in haste.*

Right worshipful Sir and Master, I recommend me unto you; please you to weet, the Monday after Our Lady day there came hither to my Master's place, my Master Bowser, Sir Harry Rutford, John Clay, and the Harbingers of my Lord of March, desiring that my Lady of York, and her two sons, my Lord George, and my Lord Richard, and my Lady Margaret her daughter, (which I granted them in your name) to lie here until Michelmas.

And she had not lain here two days but (*before*) she

had tidings of the landing of my Lord at Chester. A.D. 1460. The Tuesday next after, my Lord sent for her that she should come to him to Harford (*Hereford*) and thither she is gone; and she hath left here both the sons, and the daughter, and the Lord of March cometh every day to see them.

Item, my Lord of York hath divers strange Commissions from the King, for to sit in divers towns coming homeward; that is for to say, in Ludlow, Shrewsbury, Hereford, Leicester, Coventry, and in other divers Towns, to punish them by the faults to the King's Laws. Duke of York's progress through the country.

As for tidings here, the King is away at Eltham and at Greenwich to hunt, and to sport him there biding (*during*) the Parliament, and the Queen and the Prince abideth in Wales always, and (*there*) is with her the Duke of Exeter, and others with a few men as it is said here.

And the Duke of Somerset he is in Dieppe, and with him Master John Ormond, Whittingham, Andrew Trollope and other divers of the Garrison of Guisnes, under the King of France's safe conduct, and they say here, he purposes him to go to Wales to the Queen. And the Earl of Wiltshire is still in peace at Otryght (*Ottery*) at the Friars, which is Sanctuary . . . . .

. . . . . .

Written at London, the 12th day of October.

Your own Servant,

Christopher Hansson." Oct. 12, 1460.

This complete success of the rebels emboldened the Duke of York on his arrival in London, to advance his claim to the throne. This was the only safety of his party, for though so long as Margaret and the Lancastrian Lords could be kept from the King, they would have nothing to fear; once allow the Queen to return, and regain the ascendancy in the King's councils, and it was evident to York claims the Crown.

A.D. 1460. them that their treason would receive it's merited reward. Hence the necessity of prompt measures during her absence, and acting under the advice of the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the Duke of York, whose attainder had been removed by the repeal of all the acts of

Oct. 16th. the parliament of Coventry, entered London on the 16th

(*William Wyrcester*, p. 483.) of October, and proceeded "with 500 horsemen to the Palace of Westminster on the 3rd day of the sitting of parliament, proclaiming himself by his own mouth heir to the Crown of England." Standing with his hand resting upon the throne he appeared to wait an invitation to place himself upon it; and then removing his hand again, he turned to the peers, who applauded his thus withdrawing from his treasonable purpose, even whilst he stood on the dais. Chafed by their previous silence and present applause, he replied haughtily to the request of the Cardinal Archbishop that he would

(*Whethempstede*, p. 484.) visit the King, who was then in the Queen's palace: "I know no one in this Kingdom, who ought not rather to come to me;" abruptly quitted the house, and appropriated that portion of the palace to himself,

His haughty conduct displeases the nation. which had hitherto been reserved for the King's own use. "But few of the Lords countenanced him," says William Wyrcester, whilst Whethempstede adds emphatically: "Every state and grade, of whatever age or sex, order or condition, began to murmur against him." Henry was beloved for himself. He was the son of one King and the grandson of another. He had filled the throne for thirty-nine years, and his enemies had sworn fealty to him, York himself upon the sacrament, more than once. On the ninth day of the same session the latter gave a written statement of his claim to the Chancellor, requiring at the same time a speedy answer. The Lords decided that every man had a right to be heard, and that the Duke's petition should be read; but that in a case of so peculiar a nature they must first receive the King's commands. Henry was made

acquainted with the Duke's demand the same day, to which he replied: "My father was King; his father was also King; I have worn the crown forty years from my cradle; you all have sworn fealty to me as your sovereign, and your fathers have done the like to my fathers. How then can my right be disputed?" He then commended himself to their loyalty, and bid them "seek and find, as much as in them was, all such things as might be objected and laid against the claim and title of the said Duke." The judges declined to be advocates for either party, and said the present question being above the law must be referred to the Lords of the King's blood, and to the wisdom of parliament.

A.D. 1460.

Henry's title to the Crown.—(*Blackman*, p. 305.)

Oct. 18th.

The result of the parliamentary enquiry[41] contains the following objections to the Duke's claim. "1. That both he and the lords had sworn fealty to Henry, and of course he by his oath was prevented from urging, they by theirs from admitting, his claim: 2nd. That many acts passed in divers parliaments of the King's progenitors, might be opposed to the pretensions of the house of Clarence, which acts, 'been of authority to defeat any manner of title.' 3rd. That several entails had been made of the crown to the heirs male, whereas he claimed by descent from females: 4th. That he did not bear the arms of Lionel the third, but of Edmund the fifth son of Edward III.: and 5°. That Henry IV. had declared that he entered on the throne as the true heir of Henry III." To the three first objections the Duke's counsel replied; that as priority of descent was evidently in his favour, it followed that the right to the crown was his; which right could not be defeated by oaths or acts of parliament, or entails. Indeed the only entail made to the exclusion of females was that of the seventh year of Henry IV., and would never have been thought of, had that prince claimed under the customary

Objections to the Duke's title.

Reply to the objections.

[41] See Lingard's History of England, vol. iii. p. 491 and 492.

A.D. 1460. law of descents: that the reason why he had not hitherto taken the arms of Lionel was the same as had prevented him from claiming the crown, the danger to which such a proceeding would have exposed him; and lastly that if Henry IV. pronounced himself the rightful heir of Henry III., he asserted what he knew to be untrue. As, however, the principal reliance of his adversaries was on the oaths which he had taken, and which it was contended were to be considered as a surrender of his right by his own act, he contended that no oath contrary to truth and justice is binding; that the virtue of an oath is to confirm truth and not to impugn it; and that as the obligation of oaths is a subject for the determination of the spiritual tribunals, he was willing to answer in any such court all manner of men, who had any thing to propose against him."

York proclaimed Protector, Nov. 9th.

On the ninth of the following November the Duke of York was solemnly proclaimed heir apparent, and Lord Protector during the King's life, and an income of £10,000 a year was assigned to him. The pride of York disgusted even his followers. Till the compromise had been effected he declined to visit the King, declaring that "he was subject to no man, and that God himself was his only superior."

By his advice the King sent for the Queen and his son, but Margaret with the caution of a mother, declined to trust the Prince into the hands of those, who had robbed him of his patrimony, but hastened to her friends in the North, who had raised another army in the King's name, at York under the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Northumberland and Devon and the Lords Clifford, Dacre, and Neville, who had drawn their followers together from various parts of the Kingdom, "and had destroyed the retainers and tenants of the Duke of York and Earl of Salisbury."

The Queen raises an army in the North.

(*W. Wyrcester*, p. 484.)

"Parliament being prorogued in December, the Duke and Earl hastened from London with a large armed

force towards York, but coming unexpectedly upon the troops of the Duke of Somerset at Worksop, their vanguard was destroyed. On the 21st of December, however, they reached Sandal Castle, with 6000 men, and kept their Christmas there, notwithstanding that the enemy under the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Northumberland, were close by at Pontefract." A.D. 1460. Skirmish at Worksop.

"The followers of the Duke of York, having gone out to forage for provisions on the 29th of December, a dreadful battle was fought at Wakefield between the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Neville, and the adverse party, when the Duke of York, Thomas Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Harrington, Thomas Parr, Edward Bourchier, James Pykering, and Henry Rathforde, with many other Knights and Squires, and soldiers to the amount of two thousand, were slain in the field. After the battle, Lord Clifford slew the young Earl of Rutland, the son of the Duke of York, as he was fleeing across the Bridge at Wakefield; and in the same night the Earl of Salisbury was captured by a follower of Sir And. Trolloppe, and on the morrow beheaded by the Bastard of Exeter at Pontefract, where at the same time the dead bodies of York, Rutland, and others of note who fell in the battle, were decapitated, and their heads affixed in various parts of York, whilst a paper crown was placed in derision on the head of the Duke of York." Battle of Wakefield, Dec. 30, 1460. Death of York,— (*Ibid.* p. 485.) and of the Earl of Rutland. Execution of the Earl of Salisbury.

Our old gossiping Chroniclers, Grafton and Hall, have thrown a great deal of romance into their accounts of this Battle, but the usual shrewd conduct of York on other occasions must lead one to doubt his having challenged Somerset to fight, as the latter is said to have had 18,000 men under his command, whilst the entire forces of the Duke were not more than 6000. We shall probably be nearer the truth in following the account furnished by Wyrcester, from which it would A.D. 1461.

A.D. 1461. appear that the Yorkists had gone out to forage and plunder, and Somerset taking advantage of this circumstance surprised and defeated the Duke, at a moment when he was unprepared for the attack.

Edward marches towards London.

Edward, who now succeeded to the title of Duke of York, and was at Gloucester, when the news of the death of his father and brother reached him, had completed his levies, and hastened with a large army to throw himself between the metropolis and the successful royalists. Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, the half brother of Henry, followed in his rear with inferior forces, and fearful of being surrounded Edward saw the necessity of defeating this small army. Facing suddenly about "on the eve of the feast of the Purification of the Virgin, he fought the Battle of Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore with 51,000[42] men, against the Earl of Pembroke with only 8000 men, who, with the Earl of Wiltshire was forced to seek refuge in flight. Owen Tudor, however, the father of the Earl of Pembroke, Sir John Throckmorton, and eight other of the royalist leaders were taken and beheaded at Hereford.

Battle of Mortimer's Cross, Feb. 1, 1461.—(*Wyrcester*, p. 486.)

The Queen marches towards London.—(*Ibid.* 485.)

"After the Battle of Wakefield Queen Margaret came out of Scotland to York, where it was determined by the Council of the Lords to proceed to London and to liberate King Henry out of the hands of his enemies by force of arms. Shortly after the feast of the Purification, the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the Earls of Northumberland, Devonshire and Shrewsbury, the Lords Roos, Grey of Codnor, Fitzhugh, Graystock, Welles and Willoughby and many others, amounting in all to 24,000 men advanced upon St. Albans, and at Dunstable destroyed Sir Edward Poyning, and 200 foot."

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[42] This again is evidently a clerical error. The text gives the numbers in Roman numerals LI. The transcriber probably copied the Arabic 11 (*eleven*) into LI. The number of followers of the Earl of Pembroke is written in full "*octo*."

"On the Fastday, February 17th, the Battle of St. Albans was fought, from which the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Warwick and Arundell were forced to seek safety in flight. And there the King was recovered from his enemies and the Earl of Montacute, his Chamberlain taken prisoner. The Prince of Wales came to his father, the King in his tent, and was knighted by him, after which the Prince knighted the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Roos and many others. In this field fell no less than 2000 men, though not in one battle, but in diverse skirmishes, for the country thereabout is covered with wood. On the Queen's side fell James Lutterell and Arnold Hungerford." The most distinguished person, however, who suffered was Sir John Grey, whose widow became Queen of England, upon her marriage with Edward the Fourth.

Battle of St. Albans, Feb. 17, 1461. —(*Ibid.* 486, 487.)

The King restored to his family.

The Abbot of St. Alban's furnishes us with full particulars of this battle. The attack commenced at the Cross, but the Queen's troops were speedily repulsed by the archers of the Earl of Warwick. They, however, soon rallied and penetrated into St. Peter's Street, driving the Yorkists to the heath, at the North end of the town. Here began the deadly struggle, and ultimately the rebel army dispersed in all directions, and notwithstanding the entreaties of the Abbot the King was unable to save the town from pillage, for the Northmen, who formed the Queen's army, claimed the privilege of plundering all places south of the Trent. It was this licence which ruined the King's cause, and rendered this important victory but a barren laurel to the Queen. The Battle of St. Albans, though gained by the Royalists, lost Henry the throne, for the citizens of London, who dreaded the evils they saw accompany the Queen's success, gladly opened their gates within eight days after that event to the young Duke of York, whom they proclaimed King on the 4th of March, as

Description of the battle. —(*Whethempstede*, p. 497, &c.)

The Royalists pillage the town.

Edward enters London, March 4th, and is proclaimed King.

EDWARD THE FOURTH.

A.D. 1461. The most important events which followed will be found in the ensuing pages. The action at Ferrybridge, the Battles of Towton, Hegeley Moor and Hexham, together with the Siege of Bamburgh Castle all tended to place the crown more securely on the head of Edward. The following curious document respecting the latter is preserved in the College of Arms, and is a valuable record of the art of war at that period.

(*MS. College of Arms*, L. 9.)

ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF

BAMBURGH CASTLE,

MAY 27TH ANNO DOMINI 1464.

A.D. 1464. Siege of Bamburgh Castle.

THE King lay in the Palace of York and kept his estate solemnly, and there created he Sir John Neville Lord Montague, Earl of Northumberland. And then my Lord of Warwick took upon himself the journey by the King's commandment and authority to resist the rebellious of the North, accompanied with him my said Lord of Northumberland, his brother.

Item, the twenty-third day of June my said Lord of Warwick with the puissance came before the castle of Alnwick, and had it delivered by appointment. And also the castle of Dunstanborough, whereat our said Lord kept the feast of Saint John (*the*) Baptist.

Item, my said Lord of Warwick and his brother (*the*) Earl of Northumberland, the twentyfifth day of June, laid siege unto the Castle of Bamburgh, there within being Sir Ralph Grey with such power as attended for to keep the said castle against the power of the King's and my

said Lord, as it appeareth by the herald's report, by the which my Lord sent to charge them to deliver it under this form as ensueth: Chester, the King's herald, and Warwick, the herald, had this commandment as followeth to say unto Sir Ralph Grey, and to others that kept his rebellious opinion, that they should deliver that place continent after that summation (*summons*), and every man for the time, being disposed to receive the King's grace, my said Lord of Warwick the King's lieutenant, and my Lord of Northumberland Warden of the marches, granteth the King('s) grace and pardon, body, livelihoods, reserving two persons (*it*) is understood, Sir Humphrey Neville and Sir Ralph Grey, those twain to be out of the King's grace, without any redemption. Then the answer of Sir Ralph Grey followeth unto the said heralds, he clearly determining within himself to live or to die within the said place, the heralds according to my Lord's commandment charged him with all inconveniences, that by possible might fall in offence against Almighty God, and shedding of blood, the herald saying in this wise: "My Lords ensureth you upon their honour to sustain siege, before you these seven years or else to win you." A. D. 1464. Siege of Bamburgh Castle.

Item, my said Lord Lieutenant and my Lord Warden have given us further commandment to say unto you, if ye deliver not this Jewel, the which the King our most dread Sovereign Lord, hath so greatly in favour, seeing it marcheth so nigh his ancient enemies of Scotland, he specially desireth to have it whole unbroken with ordinance, if ye suffer any great gun (*to be*) laid unto the wall and be shot, and prejudice the wall, it shall cost you the chieftains head, and so proceeding for every gun shot to the least head of any person within the said place. Then the said Sir Ralph Grey departed from the said herald, and put him in endeavour to make defence.

And then my Lord Lieutenant had ordained all the

A.D. 1464. Siege of Bamburgh Castle.

King's great-guns, that were charged, at once to shoot unto the said castle; New-castle, the King's great-gun, and London, the second gun of iron, the which betide the place, that stones of the walls flew into the sea; Dison, a brazen gun of the King's, smote throughout Sir Ralph Grey's chamber oftentimes, Edward, and Richard Bombartel, and other of the King's ordinance, so occupied by the ordinance of my said Lord with men of arms and archers, won the castle of Bamburgh with assault, maugre Sir Ralph Grey, and took him and brought him to the King to Doncaster, and there was he executed in this form as followeth. My Lord Earl of Worcester Constable of England, sitting in judgement told him judgement, and remembered him saying unto him: Sir Ralph Grey thou hast taken the order of Knighthood of the Bath, and any so taking that order ought to keep his faith, the which he makes, therefore remember thee, the law wilt thou shall proceed to judgement; these matters shew so evidently against thee, that they need not to examine thee of them by certain persons of the King's true subjects, the which thou hast wounded, and sheweth here that thou canst not deny this, thou hast drawn thee with force of arms unto the King our most natural Sovereign Lord, the which thou weetest well gave unto thee such trust, and in such wise ministered his grace unto thee, that thou hadst his castles in the North part to keep; thou hast betrayed Sir John Astley, Knight and brother of the garter, the which remaineth in the hands of the King's, our sovereign Lord's, enemies in France.

Item, thou hast withstood and made fences against the King's Majesty, and his lieutenant, the worthy Lord, my brother of Warwick, it appeareth by the strikes of the great guns in the King's walls of his castle of Bamburgh. For the(*se*) causes dispose (*thyself*) to suffer thy penance after the law. The King had ordained that

thou shouldest have had thy spurs striken off by the hard heels, with the hand of the master cook, that which is here ready to do as was promised at the time that he took off thy spurs, he said to you as is accustomed that: "And thou be not true to thy Sovereign Lord I shall smite off thy spurs with this knife hard by the heels," and so shewed him the master cook ready to do his office with apron and his knife. A.D. 1464. Siege of Bamburgh Castle.

Item, Sir Ralph Grey,* the King had ordained here thou mayst see the King of arms and heralds and thine own proper coat of arms, that which they should tear off thy body, and so thou shouldst as well be degraded of thy worship noblesse and arms, as of the order of knighthood, and also here is another coat of thine arms reversed, the which thou shouldst have worn of thy body, going to that death ward, for that belongeth after the law. Notwithstanding of the degrading of knighthood and of thine arms and noblesse, the King pardons that for thy noble grandfather the which suffered trouble for the King's most noble predecessors.

Then Sir Ralph Grey this shall be thy penance—thou shalt go on thy feet unto the townsend, and there thou shalt be laid down and drawn to a scaffold, made for thee, and that thou shalt have thine head smitten off thy body, to be buried in the friars, thy head where it pleased the King.†

* See p. 14 of Hearne's Fragment; and p. 104 of Warkworth's Chronicle. Sir Ralph Grey, of Wark, Heton, and Chillingham, lineal ancestor of the Earls of Tankerville, as well as of the present Earl Grey, was grandson of Sir Thomas Grey, beheaded at Southampton with the Earl of Cambridge, Aug. 5, 1415. See the whole sheet pedigree of Grey, in Raine's North Durham. —(*Nicholls.*)

† This curious document preserves the names of the separate pieces of Ordnance belonging to the King. Newcastle, and London, seem to have been made of iron; Dison was a brazen gun, (which metal Edward had only recently introduced in the casting of his guns,) and, with these Edward and Richard Bombartel, seem to have been the only five pieces employed in the siege.

Henry VI. and Edward IV. buried in the same vault.

The particulars of the death of King Henry the Sixth will be found at pages 93 *and* 94. *Immediately after his accession, Henry the Seventh had his body exhumed, and reburied with great pomp in the royal vault of St. George's Chapel at Windsor. The remains of the rival kings, Henry the Sixth and Edward the Fourth, rest within the same Chamber, and their proximity in death suggested the following beautiful lines to Pope:*

> "Here, o'er the Martyr-King the marble weeps,
> And fast beside him, once fear'd Edward sleeps;
> The grave unites, where e'en the grave finds rest,
> And mingled lie the oppressor and the opprest!"

A FEW PARTICULARS

OF THE LIFE OF

KING EDWARD THE FOURTH,

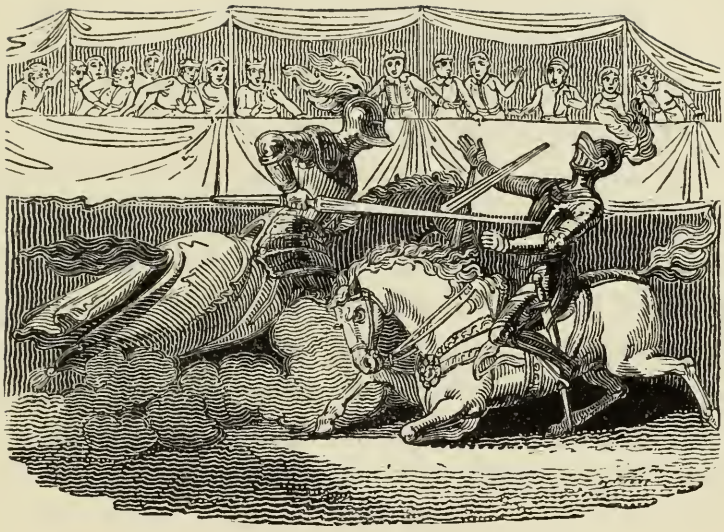
FORMERLY EARL OF MARCH.

FRAGMENT OF A CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This curious Fragment is preserved by Hearne, the eminent Antiquary, at the end of his Edition of Sprott's Chronicle. It is written by a partisan of the House of York, who tells us himself, that he was a servant to King Edward the Fourth. In his 16th Chapter he gives us the only means of tracing who he was, and from it we may conclude, that, if not of the Howard Family himself, he was on terms of intimacy with "*the right illustrious Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Treasurer of England,*" in whose house he appears to have been resident. That he was a person of distinction is evident, for he tells us that what he narrates he heard from the mouth of the King, or was mostly present himself, as well within the realm as without, especially from the year 1468 to the year 1482. Amongst his personal friends, who were knighted at the coronation of the Queen, he enumerates the Lord Dumas, Sir Bartelot de Ribaire, Sir John Woodville, the Queen's brother, and four citizens, Sir Thomas Cooke, Sir Matthew Philip, Sir Ralph Jocelyn, and Sir Harry Waver. He finds great fault with the falsification made by the Lancastrian Chroniclers, who, on the accession of Henry VII.,

sought favour in the eyes of the King by blackening the rival family. This slight fragment, and "The History of the Arrival of King Edward the Fourth, and the final Recovery of his Kingdom, Anno Domini 1471," are almost the only Yorkist Chronicles which have reached our times.



THE CHRONICLE OF KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.

INTRODUCTION.

Edward IV. born, A.D. 1440.

This Edward, Earl of Marche, son and heir of Richard, Duke of York, was born at Rouen, in Normandy (his father then being Regent there,) in the year of our Lord 1440. And in the year of our Lord 1459, and then being the 38th year of King Harry the 6th, the Duke of York fled from Ludlow into Ireland. And this Edward, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, departed into Devonshire, and from thence into Guernsey, and so to Calais, &c. After the which departing King Harry rode into Ludlow,[1] and spoiled the Town and Castle, where-at he found the Duchess of York with

King Henry VI. takes Ludlow, A.D. 1459, and

[1] "The Duke of York, not confiding in his men, was forced to fly from Ludlow into Wales, and leave the town a prey to the King's soldiers, who burnt and pillaged the same; and the Duchess of York, residing then here, had her wardrobe sifted, and all her furniture spoiled."—(*Documents connected with Ludlow*, p. 10.)

sends the Duchess of York and her two younger sons, George (*D. of Clarence*) and Richard (*King Richard* III.)

her two young sons (*then*) children, the one of thirteen years old, and the other of ten years old: the which Duchess King Harry sent to her sister Anne Duchess of Buckingham. Then after in the 38th year of King Harry, the said Duchess of York being in London, sent her 'foresaid two sons, George and Richard, by sea into the state (*city*) of Utrecht by (*in*) Holland, where they remained but a while, &c. [Wherefore the late counterfeiters of Chronicles were worthy much to be punished with the printer so to affirm, the Duke of Clarence,[2] George to be elder brother to King Edward, considering that he writeth two contraries in his own work.]

THE HISTORY.

Battle of Wakefield, Dec. 30, A.D. 1460.

Chap. 1.—Edward the Fourth, of that name, son and heir of Richard, late Duke of York, after the decease of his father, that was slain at Wakefield the 30th day of December anno 1460,[3] (*and after*) the

Battle of St. Albans. A.D. 1461.

battle done at St. Albans the Ash Wednesday, and won by the Queen Margaret, and her 'complices,[4] the said Edward, then being Earl of the Marche, hearing of this adventure, came down with a great number of Welshmen, and met with Richard, Earl of Warwick, upon

[2] Referring to *Fabyan's Chronicle*, *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 239, *Grafton*, p. 741. See also *Holinshed*, p. 703.

[3] The Duke reached Wakefield on the 24th of Dec., on which day Hume says the battle took place. All the old authorities, however, agree with our text.—(*See Wethamstede*, p. 489. *Contin. Hist. Croyl.* p. 550. *Hall*, p. 99.) "The Duke fell in the action, and when his body was found among the slain, his head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the Gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in derision of his pretended title." —(*Hume*, vol. iii. p. 209.)

[4] The Lord Lovelace, whilst both armies were engaged, treacherously withdrew from the combat, thus deserting the Earl of Warwick, who commanded the Yorkists. The king, Henry VI., fell again into the hands of his own party. After the battle, the town of St. Albans was given up to plunder.—(*Wethhamstede*, p. 497.)

Cotswold, and so they two joining their hosts came towards London, in the which season Queen Margaret being at Barnet with King Henry sent for victuals, and Lenten stuff to London, the which was prepared by the Mayor and Sheriffs to send unto her, and her host; and when they with the victuals came to Cripplegate, the commons arose and stopped the carts, and would suffer none to depart out of the City, alledging divers reasons for the same. Whereof when the Queen was certified, and also thereupon assured of the coming of the two Earls of Marche and Warwick, she had no great confidence to those of London. Wherefore she withdrew herself, and turned (*changed*) her purpose, and with the King, her husband, and such men of war as she had, fled northward, as fast as she might, towards York, where at she thought herself more assured (*secure*).

A.D. 1461.

Queen Margaret retreats to York. A.D. 1461.

Chap. 2.—The two 'foresaid Earls of Marche and Warwick, from Cotswold kept their way straight to London,[5] where they arrived, the Thursday in the first week of Lent; to whom resorted all gentlemen, for the more part of the South parts, and East of England, both spiritual and temporal; and thereupon a council was called, whereat King Harry, for his imbecility and

Edward IV. proclaimed, March 4th, A.D. 1461.

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[5] Edward entered London amidst the acclamations of the citizens. "I was present," says William Wyrcester, "heard them, and returned with them into the City." The King was in his 20th year, remarkable for the beauty of his person, his activity, bravery and affability. But with these qualities he combined hardness of heart and severity of character. He was revengeful to such an extreme, that he is said to have ordered the execution of a poor tradesman, who dwelt at the sign of the Crown, for saying "he would leave his son heir to the Crown,"—imagining this harmless pleasantry pointed at his assumed title. The unpopularity of Margaret, in treating the country as a conquered province after her recent successes, hastened the downfall of Henry, and "the nobles of the Kingdom and all the people of the midland part of England, and of the East, West and South deserted Henry. They directed solemn ambassadors to Edward in Wales, to declare to him the wishes of the people, and to urge him to hasten into England, to help them, as delay was producing danger." — (*Cont. Croyl.* p. 532.)

A.D. 1461. insufficiency was by the whole House deposed, and Edward, eldest son of Richard, late Duke of York, by the sole assent and consent of all present, there elected and solemnly chosen for King of England, then being of the age (*of*) almost 20; and thereupon he with all the Lords went in general procession, accompanied with all the Nobles there present, and the Commons of the city, and (*was*) immediately conveyed with great honour to Westminster; taking there possession, with sceptre royal in his hand, sitting at the high dais[6] in the Great Hall. The which done, he went into the Abbey, where he was received with procession of the Abbot and Convent there: and after that he had offered in kingly estate at the shrine of Saint Edward, he took homage and fealty of such noblemen as there were present, the which done he returned to the Bishop's palace at London that night the 4th day of March.

Sits in regal state at Westminster Hall, and receives homage, March 4, A.D. 1461.

Chap. 3.—The voyage (*journey*) determined by the newly elected King Edward, the Fourth of the name, to follow his enemies, King Harry the Sixth and his Queen Northward. First on the morrow, John Duke of Norfolk went in to his Country with all diligence, to prepare for the war on the part of King Edward; and on the Saturday next following, the Earl of Warwick[7] with a great band of men departed out of London, Northward; whereat (*to the same*) on the Wednesday next following

The new King and the Earl of Warwick march against Queen Margaret.

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[6] This signification of the word *dais* is the same in which it is used by Matthew Paris: "The newly elected Abbot, solus in refectorio prandebit supremus, habens vastellum, Priore prandente ad *magnam mensam*, quam *Dais* vulgariter appellamus."—Richardson.

[7] The forces under the Earl of Warwick are said to have amounted to 40,000 men. Lord Fitzwalter was sent forward to secure the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Ayre, but was driven back by the Lord Clifford, and slain in the action. Lord Clifford himself, in turn, was killed on his retreat, and "being particularly hated for his murder of the young Duke of Rutland, (brother to Edward IV.) his son was concealed and brought up as a poor shepherd, till Henry VII. obtained the crown, when he was restored to his father's estates."—(*Turner*, vol. v. p. 297.)

the King's footmen in a great number, of the which the most part were Welshmen and Kentish men. Then the Friday ensuing the King Edward issued out of the city in goodly order at Bishopsgate, then being the 12th day of March, and held on his journey following those others, and when the fore prickers came to Ferry-bridge, there was a great skirmish whereat John Ratcliff, then Lord Fitzwalter, was slain, and thereupon they ever advanced themselves till they came to Touton, 8 miles out of York, upon a Friday at night, abiding the residue of their company, the which were assembled in good order on the Saturday, then being Palm Sunday-eve: and about 4 of the clock at night the two battles[8] joined, and fought all night till on the morrow at after noon; when about the noon the foresaid John Duke of Norfolk with a fresh band of good men of war came in, to the aid of the new elected King Edward. This field was sore fought. For there were slain on both parts 33,000 men, and all the season it snowed. There were slain the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland with others and Sir Andrew Troloppe; and taken the Earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire and beheaded there; and the deposed King Harry, his Queen, with Henry, Duke of Somerset, and others, in great haste fled into Scotland.

A.D. 1461.

Lord Fitzwalter slain at Ferry-bridge.

Battle of Touton, March 29, 1461, (Palm Sunday,) at 4 o'clock, p. m.

The Earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire beheaded at York.

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[8] "As if battle were the gate of paradise, and the future an incomprehensible dream, they raised against each other a tumultuous shout of execration and defiance, and at four o'clock in the afternoon, within three hours of complete darkness, began the mortal struggle by Lord Falconbridge advancing to the attack."—(*Turner*, vol. v. p. 297.) This was indeed "a sore fought field." Our Fragment says 33,000 men were slain; the Croyland Chronicler says, "they who buried the dead declared 38,000 had fallen." Fabian says 30,000 fell, and Hall counts the slain during the three days at 36,776 persons. A contemporary writer (*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 219-221) gives the Herald's report as 28,000, and he says on Henry's side alone, 20,000 were slain. Amongst these were the Earl of Westmoreland and his brother Sir John Nevil, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Dacres and Wells, and Sir Andrew Trollope. The Earl of Devonshire was beheaded at York, immediately after the battle. —*Wethamstede*, p. 517.

A.D. 1461.

CHAP. 4.—This victory obtained, King Edward followed the chase but a little; but shortly he returned unto York, whereat he kept his Easter. The bruit (*news*) of this great victory was spread, so that it came to London on Easter eve, whereat was great joy made. The feast of Easter accomplished, the King Edward rode to Durham, and setting all things in good order in the North parts, he left behind him there the Earl of Warwick to have the oversight and governance there, and the King returned Southwards, and Eastwards, arriving at his manor of Sheen, the first day of June, whereat he continued to the 26th day of the same month, in the which season was prepared, and provision made for his coronation.

King Edward IV. goes to Durham, and leaving the Earl of Warwick in the North, retires to Sheen, and prepares for his Coronation.

CHAP. 5.—The same 26th day of June the King Edward removed from Sheen towards London, then being Thursday, and upon the way, received him the Mayor and his brethren, all in scarlet, with 400 commoners (*common councilmen*) well horsed and clad in green, and so advancing themselves, passed the bridge, and through the city, they rode straight unto the Tower of London, and rested there all night, whereat on the morrow he made 32 new Knights of the Bath, the which day at after noon departing from the Tower, in like good order as they came thither, these 32 new Knights proceeding immediately before the King, in their gowns and hoods, and tokens of white silk upon their shoulders, as is accustomed at the Bath; and so in this goodly order he was brought to Westminster, whereat on the morrow, being St. Peter's day, and Sunday, he was solemnly crowned by the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with great triumph and honour; and thereupon he created his brother George, Duke of Clarence, then being of 14 years old, anno 1460.

Received by the City of London. Creation of Knights of the Bath.

His coronation at Westminster, June 29th, 1461.

Creates his brother GEORGE, Duke of Clarence.

CHAP. 6.—In the first year of King Edward a Par-

liament[8] was called at Westminster the 4th day of September, and upon the 5th day of the same month, John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk died, and thereupon immediately Richard,[9] youngest brother of the King, was created Duke of Gloucester, and John Mowbray, son of the aforesaid John, was created Duke of Norfolk, on Allhalowen day. And in the same solemnity Harry Bourchier, Earl of Ewe, was created Earl of Essex. He wedded Isabel, sister to Richard, Duke of York, father to King Edward. And also William Neville, Lord Falconbridge, uncle to the King, was created Earl of Kent,—in the which seasons grew many grudges secretly. In so much that Harry Vere, Lord Aubrey, accused his own father, the Earl of Oxford, of treason, whereupon they were both taken the 12th day of February in the same year, and brought to the Tower of London,[10] and shortly thereupon, the 20th day of the same

A.D. 1461.

Creates his brother RICHARD, Duke of Gloucester, and creation of Peers.

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[8] Edward concluded his first parliament by the unusual but popular measure of a speech from the throne to the Commons delivered by himself.—(See this curious document at length in *Turner's History*, vol. v. p. 302.) It was during this session that the statute was passed, prohibiting the great and rich from giving or wearing any liveries or signs of companionship, except while serving under the King; from receiving or maintaining plunderers, robbers, malefactors, or unlawful hunters; and from allowing dice and cards in their houses beyond the twelve days of Christmas.—(*Parl. Rolls*, 488.)

[9] *Harl. MS.* 7371, *ad Regnum.* He married Anne, second daughter, and one of the heirs of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Sarum, by whom he had issue, Edmund, who died young. When Richard came to the throne he was only 30 years and 9 months old, as he was born at Fotheringay, Oct. 2nd, 1452, and little more than thirty-three when he fell at Bosworth field. Sir John Neville, brother to the Earl of Warwick, was made Lord Montacute. The King constituted William Neville, whom he had created Earl of Kent, Admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitain, July 13, 1462.—(*MS. Brit. Mus. Otho, E. IX.*)

[10] See Hall's Chronicle, p. 189; Grafton's Chronicle, p. 658, and Fabian's Chronicle, p. 215. The Earl and his son were detected in a correspondence with Queen Margaret, and tried by martial law before the Constable, this law having just been introduced into Civil Government. The office of Constable was abolished by Henry VIII. The power of his court was in direct violation of Magna Charta, and utterly at variance with true constitutional liberty. Indeed if any one will peruse the patent granted to Earl Rivers by Edward IV. it will be evident that in the hands of a dependent on the Crown, a heartless, cruel, and vindictive tyrant could commit, under

Execution of the Earl of Oxford, and his son, Lord Aubrey, Feb. 21, 1462.

month, both the father and the son were brought unto the Tower Hill, where they suffered death, both on one day; how be it, the chronicles, lately made, affirmeth that the Earl should be executed 6 days after; for it was a piteous sight to see them both, father and son, in such distress. *Item*, the same year was taken Sir Baldwin Fulford, and beheaded at Bristol.

Chap. 7.—This second year of King Edward, Sir Piers de Bracy [the which before had robbed Sandwich in the 35th year of King Harry the Sixth] came out of Scotland in the favour of King Harry, and stole by treason the Castle of Alnwick, whither were sent against him Sir William Lord Hastings, and with him were Sir John Howard, and divers Lords and gentlemen, and with a strong power (*he*) besieged the castle; in the which time the said Sir Piers had many injurious words against those lords, the which, notwithstanding, he was fain to fall to agreement. Whereupon such appointment made, he with his Frenchmen and Scots departed [11] the

Siege of Alnwick Castle. A.D. 1462.

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the appearance of a trial, murders, which, but for this unrighteous power, would have brought his head to the block.—(See the word: *Constabularius*, *in* Spellman.) Sir Thomas Tudenham, Sir William Tyrrel, and John Montgomery, were also tried and convicted in the same arbitrary court.—(*Hume*, vol. iii.)

[11] When the King (Henry VI.) with Queen Margaret arrived in Scotland after the battle of Touton, he promised great rewards to several of the powerful nobility in his interest. To George, Earl of Angus, he granted an estate of 2000 marks a year, between the Trent and Humber, to be erected into a duchy after his restoration. Though the Earl never obtained this reward, he was induced by the promise to raise his followers, (Holinshed says, to the amount of 13,000 men,) and succeeded in bringing off the French garrison, which was besieged in Alnwick Castle.—(*Godscroft*, p. 216.)

"George, Earl of Angus, advanced with 10,000 men, and making show as if he meant to charge the English army, which had invested the castle, whilst the latter formed themselves into line of battle, he brought up a party of his stoutest horses to the postern gate, to whom the garrison made a sally, and every one mounting behind a trooper, (or as others say, on spare horses,) brought on purpose for them, the whole were securely conveyed into Scotland. The garrison, before their departure destroyed all the arms and ammunition they could not carry off. A few years ago, on opening the well of the Inner Court, which had long been filled up, a great number of cannon balls, such as were used on the first discovery of gunpowder, were found, and which had probably been thrown into the well by the garrison."—(*Manuscript History of Alnwick.*)

30th day of July. How-be-it James the Second, late King of Scots, was slain at Roxburgh in shooting off a gun that burst.[12] A.D. 1462.

Chap. 8.—After the surrendering of this Castle, in the winter following were taken, and put in the Tower for treason, Sir Thomas Tudenham Knight, Sir William Tyrrel Knight, and John Montgomery Esquire, the which all three were beheaded at the hill soon upon their judgement. And in the same November Dame Margaret, late Queen, came out of France into Scotland, and entered England with a great band [of men] of Frenchmen and Scots; of the which, when the King Edward was certified, he hastened Northward with a great power. But Queen Margaret, hearing of the King's coming, withdrew to her ships, taking a Carvelle, purposing to return in to France, but through tempest, she was fain to take a fisher's boat, and saved herself at Berwick, and the Carvelle with all her treasure[13] was drowned; how be it the goods were recovered to the King's behoof, as some men say, [*cujus contrarium verum est*]. Some other of her Company, to the sum of four or five hundred men, were thrown on land at Bamburgh; and, seeing no remedy to escape, they burnt their ships, and fled in to an Island[13] thereby, where they were slain and taken every one by certain gentlemen there. And shortly thereupon Harry Duke of Somerset, and Sir Ralph Percy submitted themselves to the King, to whom

Queen Margaret returns from France, November, 1462.

Her fleet driven ashore at Bamburgh Castle. She escapes to Berwick.

The Duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Percy submit

[12] "The Earl of Huntley, with his followers, arriving in the camp, the King conducted him to the trenches, to be present at the discharge of the Artillery against the fort, Aug. 3, A.D. 1460; but unfortunately one of the guns burst, killed the King on the spot, and wounded the Earl of Angus, without hurting any other person."—(*Henry*, vol. ix. p. 359.)

[13] She had obtained a loan of 20,000 livres from Lewis XI. Her French troops took shelter in Lindisfarn or Holy Island, but were soon after attacked by a superior force and the greatest part taken or killed. Their Commander, Peter de Breize, Senechal of Normandy, however, made his escape to Berwick, accompanied by a few followers.—(*Monstrelet.*)

to Edward IV. A.D. 1463.

he gave his grace and pardon. And in the same year the said Duke of Somerset, hearing how that the deposed King Harry the Sixth prepared a great army to reenter into England, he fled from King Edward to the said King Harry into Scotland.

Lord Montacute marches against the Queen's forces, April, 1464.

Battle of Hexham, May 15, 1464.

Chap. 9.—This same year in the beginning of April John Neville, Marquis of Montague,[14] brother to the Earl of Warwick, being the King's Lieutenant in the North, and hearing of the coming of King Harry, assembled a great host, and fought with him at Hexham, from whence the said King Harry fled, and lost his treasure there. There were taken and beheaded the said Duke of Somerset,[15] the Lord Huntingford, and the Lord Roos, with divers others. Then the said Marquis with the Earl of Warwick, went to Bamburgh and won the Castle by assault, whereat divers gentlemen were taken. And after this skirmish at Hexham King Harry was taken in a wood, by one William Cantlow, and brought to the King, and afterwards committed to the Tower[16] at London, whereat he continued in captivity

Siege of Bamburgh.

King Henry VI. taken prisoner, and sent to the Tower.

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[14] Montacute, *vide* note 9. He was made Warden of the Marches towards Scotland June 1, 1463, with power to array all men in the northern counties, between 16 and 60 years of age.—(*Rymer*, tom. II. p. 500.) He was created Earl of Northumberland, and afterwards Marquis of Montague.—(*Biondi.*)

[15] Henry Duke of Somerset was beheaded in Hexham with four others: Somerset's defection was probably caused by the nonfulfilment on the part of Edward of the payment stipulated, when he delivered up the Castle of Bamborough.—(See *Warkworth's Chronicle.*)

William Taylbois, Earl of Kyme, Thomas Lord Roos, Robert Lord Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Fynderne, were taken a few days after the Battle, and beheaded at Newcastle, and twelve Knights and gentlemen were carried to York and there executed. The Governor of Bamburgh Castle, Sir Ralph Gray, was beheaded at Doncaster.—(*Will. Wyrcester*, p. 498-99.) In the notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, edited by Mr. Halliwell, p. 36, is a very curious document relating to this siege, taken from the MS. in the College of Arms.

[16] "As he sate at Dinner in Waddington Hall he was betrayed, and conveyed to London with his legs bound to the stirrups, where, as soon as he was arrived, he was arrested by the Earl of Warwick, and committed to the Tower."—(*England's Happiness*, p. 150.)

Sir John Harington has preserved some beautiful verses com-

unto the 18th day of October in the year of our Lord 1469. A.D. 1464.

Chap. 10.—And the same year, after many pastimes of youthly course, King Edward seeing no marriages convenient for his estate out of the realm, and also none outlanded (*no foreign*) prince there was, that durst adventure to marry with him; in so much that King Harry the Sixth [as] then was at liberty—Howbeit that some there be, that affirm the Earl of Warwick should have been Ambassador for him in Spain, to have Isabell, sister of King Harry of Castile, the which affirming is not truth, for the Earl of Warwick was never in Spain, but continued all this season with his brother, John Marquis Montague, in the North parts, to withstand the coming in of King Harry the Sixth, the which King Harry was taken this year, as is above said; and the said Isabell was married unto Ferdinand, then being Prince of Arragon, and continued a great season together being married, her brother Harry before said being King of Castile, as witness the chronicles as well of Castile as of Arragon, etc. These premises considered, King Edward being a lusty prince attempted the stability and constant modesty of divers ladies and gentlewomen, and when he could not perceive none of such constant womanhood, wisdom and beauty, as was Dame Elizabeth,[17] widow of Sir John Grey of Groby

Edward IV. marries the Lady Elizabeth Woodville, May 1, A.D. 1463 (*should be* 1464).

posed by Henry during his captivity, which, as they express so well the state of his mind, may not be unacceptable to the reader:—

"Kingdoms are but cares;
State is devoid of stay;
Riches are ready snares,
And hasten to decay."

"Pleasure 's a privy prick
Which vice doth still provoke;
Pomp, unprompt; and fame a flame;
Power a smouldering smoke."

"Who meaneth to remove the rock
Out of the slimy mud,
Shall mire himself, and hardly 'scape
The swelling of the flood."

Henrie.

17 The King's marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Woodville, Widow of Sir John Grey de Groby, and daughter of Jacqueline de Luxemburgh, Duchess of Bedford, by her second husband, Sir Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, was consum-

A.D. 1464. late defunct, he then with a little company came unto the Manor of Grafton, beside Stony Stratford, whereat Sir Richard Woodville, Earl of Rivers, and Dame Jacqueline, Duchess-dowager of Bedford, were then dwelling; and after resorting at divers times, seeing the constant and stable mind of the said Dame Elizabeth, early in a morning the said King Edward wedded the foresaid Dame Elizabeth there on the first day of May in the beginning of his third year, and in the year of our Lord 1463. The priest that wedded them lieth buried at the Minories by London before the high Altar, whose name was * * * * And God gave unto them a goodly issue, that is to say four sons and seven daughters; howbeit that lewd fellow, that drew those

There is a vacancy in the MS. for the name.

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mated May 1, A.D. 1463. The King, passionately fond of the fair sex, had hitherto met with no repulse in his search after pleasure. The beauty, virtue, and accomplishments of this illustrious lady were the sole reasons of her being raised to the throne, and though the account here narrated divests this episode in our History of much of its romance, it is probably on that account nearer the truth.

"This marriage was for some time kept a careful secret. But at Michaelmas the King avowed it; and the Queen was presented by Clarence and Warwick, to the Lords and people at Reading as their Queen. In December lands to the value of 4000 marks were settled upon her; and on the Ascension-day, in the following year, the King made thirty-eight Knights at the Tower of London, preparatory to her Coronation."—(*Turner*, vol. v. p. 310.)

It is to this marriage, in a great measure, that the rise of the Middle-class in the Country owes its origin. Fearful of the jealousy of the powerful Landed Aristocracy, which in the recent events had made and unmade Kings, Edward sought by concessions to the smaller gentry and wealthy citizens to raise a barrier round the throne. By displacing the Nobles who had hitherto supported his pretensions and eventually placed him on the throne, by the Father, brothers, sisters' husbands, and uncles of the Queen, "he threw the ancient nobility into the back ground, and brought forward a new set of individuals to take from them their power, influence, honours and emoluments." The lavish hand with which he bestowed these upon the Queen's family has no parallel in history. Lord Rivers was made Lord Treasurer, and also Grand Constable; the Heiress of the Duke of Exeter, whom Warwick had destined for his nephew, was married to the Queen's son by her former husband; the Queen's sister Maria was matched with the heir of Lord Herbert; another was wedded to the Duke of Buckingham; and three others united to the families of the Earls of Arundell, Essex and Kent. John, another brother, was wedded to the old Duchess of Norfolk, a match, which, by the way, disgusted all parties. Anthony married the heiress of Lord Scales, which title he assumed.

last burnt chronicles, abused himself greatly in his disordered writing, for lack of knowledge. And whereas he writeth, that Mary, daughter of the Duke of Geldres, and widow of the late defunct James King of Scots, with other more were presented unto him in marriage, as for a choice, it is not truth; for the adversaries of this King Edward were maintained in Scotland by the said Dame Mary and her 'complices unto this time, and after as appeareth evidently. For in this same year King Harry was taken in the North, as is before specified, and Edmond, Duke of Somerset, with his brother John, were yet in Scotland with Queen Margaret, etc.

A.D. 1464.

The author refutes the statement of the Lancastrian Chroniclers respecting the marriage.

Chap. 11.—In the year of our Lord 1464, this King Edward, somewhat eased of his enemies, began to have regard unto the redressing of the inconveniences used in the realm for fault of Justice and misordering of money. Wherefore in the latter end of this year he changed his coin.[18] First he made the royal of gold, price 10*s.*; the half royal, 5*s.*; and the fourthing, 2*s.* 6*d.* Secondly, he made the noble, and named it the Angel, of the price 6*s.* 8*d.*; with the half of the same, 3*s.* 4*d.* Furthermore he made the Groat, the half groat, and pence of less value by 8*d.* in the ounce than the old groat was. And fine gold was enhanced to 40*s.* the ounce, and other base gold after the rate, with other divers ordinance of money. And on the 26th day of May the Queen Elizabeth was crowned at Westminster with great solemnity, whereat were made Knights of the Bath[19] as I knew

A.D. 1464. Edward tampers with the coin.

Coronation of Queen Elizabeth, May 26, 1464 (*should be* 1465), and

[18] The policy of thus tampering with the coin has always been questionable. William Wyrcester, a contemporary, complains of the injury suffered thereby, particularly by the nobility (p. 500). The author of the Fragment makes a mistake respecting the noble. It was raised from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 8*s.* 4*d.*—(*W. Wyrc.* c. 500.)

[19] In honour of the solemnity he made no fewer than 37 Knights of the Bath, on Thursday, May 23, among whom were several of the chief nobility. On Friday the Queen was met at Shooter's Hill by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of London, nobly mounted, and richly dressed, and conducted to the Tower; from whence on Sa-

creation of Knights of the Bath.

the Lord Dumas, Sir Bartelot de Ribaire, of Bayen, Gascons; Sir John Woodville, brother to the Queen, etc., and of the City, four: Thomas Cooke, Matthew Philip, Ralph Josselyn, and Harry Waffir (*Waver*) where (*and there*) also were made divers others at Westminster the day beforesaid of coronation.

The Princess Royal born. She was christened 11th Feb. 1466, and on the 18th Jan. 1486, married Henry VIIth.

Chap. 12.—This year in the month of February, and in the fifth year of King Edward, the Queen was delivered of a daughter (*Elizabeth*), the which was christened in Westminster, the 11th of February, 1466, to whom was godfather the Earl of Warwick, and godmothers were Cicely, Duchess of York, and Jacomyne (*Jacqueline*) Duchess of Bedford, Mothers to the King and Queen. This year were other things done, the which are of little importance.

The Battle of Montlhery, July 17th, 1465.

And in this year was a great battle in France, at a place called Montlhery, betwixt Lewis the XIth then King in France and the said Charles, whereat the Duke of Somerset was on his party, and there were slain 3000 and 600 men, so that the victory remained to Charles, the 17th day of July Anno 1465.

Chap. 13.—In this year and in the month of June, then being it the fifth year of King Edward, Anthony Bastard[20] of Burgundy came into England, with divers others from Duke Charles of Burgundy, to treat for a marriage betwixt the said Duke Charles and Dame

The Bastard of Burgundy demands the hand of the Princess Margaret for

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turday she was carried in a horse-litter, preceded by the new made Knights, to Westminster, where she was crowned on Sunday, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the usual ceremonies."—(*Henry*, vol. ix. p. 191.)

[20] See Bulwer's Novel of "*The Last of the Barons*," vol. ii. p. 102. The Croyland Historian states this Burgundian Alliance to have been the cause of Warwick's quarrel with King Edward. His words are:—"Upon which (the marriage of Margaret with Charolois) Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, who had so many years taken party with the French against the Burgundians, conceived great indignation; and I hold this to be the truer cause of his resentment, than the King's marriage with Elizabeth, for he had rather have procured a husband for the aforesaid Princess Margaret in the Kingdom of France."—(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 17.)

Margaret, sister to King Edward, the which was concluded.[20] After the which was great triumph made; most especial in Smithfield[21] were Justs, whereat the said Anthony Bastard, and Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, brother to the Queen, with divers others ran divers days, and those two beforenamed fought on foot with axes, as men courageous and greatly expert in those feats of war. And this done the said Bastard returned into France: and Edmond, Duke of Somerset[22]

the Earl of Charolois.

Tournament of Smithfield.

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[21] This combat between the two Anthonys is thus described:—"And on the first day they ran together certain courses with sharp spears, and so departed with equal honour. The next day they entered the field, the Bastard sitting on a Bay courser, being somewhat dim of sight, and the Lord Scales had a grey courser on whose schaffron was a long and sharp pike of steel. When these two valiant persons coped together at the tournay, the Lord Scales' horse, by chance or by custom, thrust his pike into the nostrils of the horse of the Bastard, so that, for very pain, he mounted so high, that he fell on one side with his master; and the Lord Scales rode round about him, with his sword shaking in his hand, till the King commanded the marshall to help up the Bastard, which openly said, 'I cannot hold by the clouds; but though my horse failed me, surely I will not fail my counter-companions.' And when he was remounted, he made a countenance to assail his adversary; but the King, either favouring his brother's honour then gotten, or mistrusting the shame which might come to the Bastard, if he were again foiled, caused the heralds to cry a lostel, and every man to depart. The morrow after, the two noblemen came into the field on foot, with two poleaxes, and there fought valiantly like two courageous champions; but at the last, the point of the axe of the Lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the helm of the Bastard, and by pure force he might have plucked him on his knees, when the King suddenly cast down his warder, and then the marshalls them severed. The Bastard, not content with this chance, very desirous to be avenged, trusting on his cunning at the poleaxe, (the which feat he had greatly exercised, and therein had a great experiment,) required the King, of justice, that he might perform his enterprize: the Lord Scales not refused it. The King said he would ask counsel, and so called to him the constable and marshall, with the officers of arms. After long consultation had, and laws of arms rehearsed, it was declared to the Bastard, for a sentence definitive, by the Duke of Clarence, then constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolk, earl marshall, that if he would prosecute farther this attempted challenge, he must, by the law of arms, be delivered to his adversary in the same case, and like condition, as he was when he was taken from him; that is to say, the point of the Lord Scales' axe to be fixed in the sight of his helm, as deep as it was when they were severed. The Bastard, hearing this judgment, doubted much the sequel, if he should so proceed again. Wherefore he was content to relinquish his challenge." — (*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 268.)

[22] Philip de Commines says, he himself has seen these noble Lan-

A.D. 1468. departed a little before into France and returned unto Duke Charles, the which at that time was in Flanders, and was retained with him in his wars. And in the same year Philip Duke of Burgundy, Father to the said Charles, died in the town of Bruges the 16th day of June.

Princess Margaret weds Charles Duke of Burgundy, July 9th, 1468.

Chap. 14.—This 7th year, Margaret Sister unto King Edward beforesaid, departed from the King, and rode throughout London behind the Earl of Warwick, and rode that night to Stratford Abbey, and from thence to the sea-side, and went into Flanders to Bruges, where she was married with great solemnity: and after the feast done, the same night the Duke and she rode out of the Town to a Castle called Male, one mile out of Bruges: and, when they were both in bed, the Castle was set on fire by treason, so that the Duke and she 'scaped narrowly.

And within short space after those astertes (*escapes*) [as] the Duchess of Norfolk with others returned into England, in whose company were two young gentlemen, that one named John Poyntz,[23] and that other William Alsford, the which were arrested because, in the time of the 'foresaid marriage, they had familiar communication with the Duke of Somerset and his 'complices there, in the which they were both detected of treason: whereupon one Richard Steris (*Steers*), skinner of London,

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castrians, including the Duke of Exeter, "barefoot and barelegged," in the Low Countries in as common a plight as beggars.

[23] "My Lord of Oxford is committed to the Tower, and is said to be kept in irons, and that he hath confessed much things. And on Monday, afore St. Andrew's-day, one Alford and Poirer, gentlemen to my Lord of Norfolk, and one St. Peirs, skinner of London, were beheaded. And on the morning after Sir Thomas Tresham was arrested and is committed to the Tower, and it is said he was arrested upon the confession of my Lord of Oxford, and they say his livelihood, and Sir John Marney's livelihood, and divers other livelihoods are given away by the King."—(*Plumpton Correspondence, edited by Mr. Stapleton*, p. 20.)

with those two were beheaded at the Tower Hill, the 21st day of November. Execution of Poyntz, Alsford and Steers, Nov. 21, 1468.

Chap. 15.—This year [as writeth Gaguin[24] in his Chronicle], Richard Earl of Warwick was sent as Ambassador from King Edward unto Louis the xi., then King of France; the which Richard came up the river Seine to a place called Boylle (*La Bouille*) in Normandy 15 miles from Rouen from whence he came unto Rouen by water, with great triumph, and was received in to Rouen, with procession and great honour in to our Lady's Church, the said King then being in Rouen. And his offering done, he repaired to his lodging until the time that the Duke of Bourbon fetched him unto the court, where he was welcomed greatly. And after his proposition [*was*] made, he had secret communing[25] with the said French King alone, and none other but they two. And this endured by the space of 12 days continually. And after his business (*was*) finished[26] he took his leave, and departed with many great gifts and rich, as well of the French King as of the Duke of Bourbon, returning into England; in whose company went to King Edward, as Ambassadors sent from King Louis, the Admiral of France, called the Bastard of Bourbon, the Bishop of Laon, Sir John

Earl of Warwick sent Ambassador to France.

The Bastard of Bourbon and other Ambassadors arrive from France.

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[24] Gaguin says, the Earl was received by Louis XI. at Rouen with great pomp; and that they held frequent secret conferences. On his departure, the King loaded the Ambassador with presents.

[25] It was certainly not with his usual foresight that Edward employed the Earl of Warwick in this embassy. The Earl had been deeply affronted by the favours heaped upon the Queen's relatives, to the detriment of himself and family. Rapin says:—"The Earl mortally hated Edward, though he concealed his aversion in order to show it effectually." During his stay in France, it may be presumed he took the opportunity to secure Louis's protection, and concert measures with him concerning the dethronement of Edward.—(*Rapin*, vol. v. p. 37.)

[26] "Warwick concluded a truce with Louis for 18 months, and returned to London, July 5, 1467. He was followed into England by the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bastard of Bourbon, who made Edward the most tempting offers to engage him to form an alliance with the court of France. But these offers came too late and were rejected."—(*Henry*, vol. ix. p. 195.)

A. D. 1468. Popaurcote, and Oliver Rous, the which Ambassadors abode in England by the space of four months. And at their returning, amongst other great gifts, King Edward gave unto them great mastiffs, colars, leashes and horns; for the which gifts the 'foresaid Gaguin maketh a manner of a mock, as appeareth in the same his book and chapter.

The author pledges himself for the veracity of his Chronicle.

Chap. 16.—Oftimes it is seen that divers there are, the which foresee not the causes precedent and subsequent; for the which they fall many times into such error, that they abuse themselves and also others, their successors, giving credence to such as write of (*from*) affection, (*partiality*) leaving the truth that was in deed. Wherefore, in avoiding all such inconveniences, my purpose is, and shall be, [as touching the life of King Edward the Fourth] to write and shew those and such things, the which I have heard of his own mouth. And also in part of such things, in the which I have been personally present, as well within the realm as without, during a certain space, most especially from the year of our Lord 1468 unto the year of our Lord 1482, in the which the forenamed King Edward departed from this present life. And in witness whereof the Right Illustrious Thomas,[27] Duke of Norfolk, Treasurer of England, as most personally present [for the most part of his flourishing age] in the house of the said right noble

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

[27] Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Duke of Norfolk, was Lord Treasurer from 1500 to 1522. He was the son of Sir John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, the "Jocky of Norfolk," who fell at Bosworth, in the cause of his sovereign Richard III. for which "*treason*" (!!!) the titles were forfeited. The Earldom of Surrey was restored in 1489, and in consequence of his services at Flodden Field, he was created Duke of Norfolk in February, 1514. He died in 1524, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, father to the Poet, the Earl of Surrey. The poet was the issue of the second marriage; for by his first wife, Anne, Daughter of King Edward the Fourth, he left no children. His second wife was the Lady Elizabeth Stafford, Daughter of the Duke of Buckingham.

prince continually conversant, can more clearly certify A.D. 1468.
the truth of all such acts and things, notable of memory, the which fell in his time. Of the which I am well assured, no man living may of very truth and right object to the contrary of his saying. Therefore, in avoiding all inconveniences, coloured chronicles, and affectionall (*partial*) histories, my purpose is to shew the truth, to avoid all ambiguity of the first motive, and original cause, wherefore Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, withdrew himself from the amity of the 'foresaid King Edward the Fourth. Sure and of truth it is, as it appeareth in the chapters previous, the said Richard, Earl of Warwick, was sent into Normandy as Ambassador with others, whose secret counsellings betwixt the French King and him (*self*) alone, brought him greatly in suspection (*suspicion*) of many things, inasmuch that his insatiable mind could not be content, and yet before him was there none in England of the half possessions[28] that he had. For first he had all the Earldom of Warwick whole, with all the Spencer's lands; the Earldom of Salisbury. (*He was*) Great Chamberlain of England, Chief Admiral and Captain of Calais, and Lieutenant of Ireland; the which possessions amounted to the sum of 20,000 marks, and yet he desired more. He councilled and enticed the Duke of Clarence, and caused him to wed his eldest daughter, Isabel,[29] without the advice or knowledge of King Edward. Wherefore the King took a great displeasure with them both, and thereupon were certain unkind

Earl of Warwick's possessions and great offices.

Duke of Clarence marries Isabel, Daughter of the Earl of Warwick.

[28] He had the entire Earldom of Warwick, all the land of the Spencers, and the Earldom of Salisbury. He was Great Chamberlain of England, Chief Admiral, and Captain of Calais, as well as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His own estates besides amounted to no less than 20,000 marks a year. His expenses were, however, enormous; for "on coming to London each morning were consumed for breakfast in his house six oxen, and all the taverns were full of his meat." —(*Stowe*, p. 421.)

[29] This marriage gave great offence to the King, and here we have another cause, without resorting to romantic fictions, for the quarrel of the King and the Earl.

A.D. 1468. words betwixt them, in so much, that after that day there was never perfect love betwixt them. Whereupon privy letters were sent into the North, into the West country, and into Wales, whereby that the Lord Herbert (*Earl of Pembroke*) came to Banbury with seven or eight thousand men without any Archers. And Humphrey, Lord Stafford of Suthwicke, came out of Somersetshire and Devonshire with four or five thousand men also to Banbury; whereat their Harbingers fell at variance for lodgings, in so much that the said Lord Stafford of Suthwicke withdrew himself back ten or twelve miles. And in this season the Northern men with their captain, the Lord Latimer, which was slain there, drew nigh to Banbury to a place called Hedgecote[30] upon the grounds of a gentleman named Clarell; of the which insurrection when the King was advertised by the Earl of Warwick, he sent out of London one Clapham with the sum of fifteen thousand men, what of household men and soldiers of Calais, whose coming was the winning of the field. For the Lord Herbert was slain, and Sir Richard, his brother, was brought to Northampton and beheaded there, and the Lord Stafford, the which came too late to the field, returned into his country, and was taken by the commons and beheaded at Bridgewater, and buried in Glastonbury. And so King Edward lost there two good captains.

Battle of Hedgecote, July 25th, 1469.

The Earl of Pembroke and Sir Rd. Herbert beheaded.

Lord Stafford beheaded.

Chap. 17.—In the same year those before-said Northern

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[30] The Battle of Hedgecote Field placed the King in the power of Warwick. The Earl finding the detention of the King unpopular, a hollow truce was concluded, and outwardly a reconciliation took place. But how could Edward forget the murder of the Queen's father and brother? and though he yielded to the Earl's "*insatiable mind*," by creating him in addition to his other dignities, Grand Justiciary of Wales and Constable of Cardigan, could he forget his treason? Will. Wyrcester says 1,500 of the Northerns were killed. Four thousand Welsh fell, and the Earl of Pembroke and the other nobles were beheaded by the *secret* orders of Warwick.—(*Hist. Croyl.* p. 543.)

men took Richard, Lord Rivers,[31] then Treasurer of England, and one of his sons with him named Sir John Woodville, and smote off their heads: and, as some men said, it was done by the consent of the Earl of Warwick, the which was known more clearly afterwards. For a little before there was a rising in the North Country made by unnamed gentlemen, and (*they*) named their captain Robin of Riddisdale,[32] the which Insurrection was the beginning and cause of many inconveniences, as appeared soon afterwards. Howbeit they were pardoned for their Rebellion soon upon Alhalowen Tide after. And anon thereupon the Lord Welles (that had married Dame Margaret Duchess of Somerset), began a new Commotion in Lincolnshire, and with him was Sir Thomas Dymoke, Knight. Of the which rebellious deed, when the King was certified, he gathered his men, and rode thitherward. And when those rebels heard of his coming they left their field, and all their stuff, and fled as far as Scarborough, whereat they were beheaded: and that journey was named Lose cote Feelde.[33]

A.D. 1468. Lord Rivers and Sir John Woodville beheaded.

Robin of Redesdale.

Lose-cote Field; *i. e.* battle of Stamford, Oct. 1, 1469.

Chap. 18.—In this 9th year of King Edward many

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[31] "This Sir John Woodville was the most obnoxious of the Queen's brothers, and infamous for the avarice which had led him to marry the old Duchess of Norfolk. Lord Rivers was the more odious to the people at the time of the insurrection, because in his capacity of Treasurer he had lately tampered with the coin and circulation."—(*Bulwer's Last of the Barons*, vol. ii. p. 277.)

[32] "This Robin of Redesdale's fate is as obscure as most of the incidents in this perplexed part of English History."—*Bulwer*. See also *Wootton's English Baronetage*, article *Hildyard*. "Sir William Conyers, Knight, called himself Robin of Redesdale, and gathered a host of 20,000 men in the North. And Robin of Redesdale met with the Earl of Pembroke and slew 2000 Welshmen about Banbury, and took the Earl of Pembroke and his brother." — (*Warkworth's Chronicle.*)

[33] It was the son of Lord Welles, whom Edward had recently beheaded for treason, that commanded the revolt.—(*Turner*, vol. v. p. 322.) The beheading of Richard, Lord Welles, is one of the basest actions of King Edward's reign. When the King first heard of the rebellion he sent for that nobleman, with a solemn promise for his safety, and directed him to write to his son, to lay down his arms. In violation of this solemn pledge, he nevertheless commanded him to be beheaded."—(*Ritson.*)

A.D. 1469. Conspiracy of the Earl of Warwick and Duke of Clarence.

secret conspiracies were done in the winter, in so much that the Earl of Warwick enticed so the Duke of Clarence, that he followed all his council. And thereupon it fortuned, that those both went into Warwickshire, to the intent that they might bring their purpose into effect: where at, at after Easter in the beginning of the tenth year of King Edward, the Archbishop of York,[34] George Nevile, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, desired the King to a banquet at his Palace of the Moor besides Langley: whither as the King came, and a little before supper, when they should have washed, John Ratcliff,[35] that after was Lord Fitzwalter, warned the King privily, and bade him beware; for there were ordained privily an 100 men of arms, the which should take him and convey him out of the way. Wherefore the King, faining himself to make his water, caused a good horse to be saddled, and so with a small company rode to Windsor. Of the which treason so detected, when the Earl of Warwick was advertised, he with the Duke of Clarence, and their wives, fled westward and took shipping, and so came into Normandy in the month of May Anno 1470, and landed at Honfleur, whereat met them the Bastard of Bourbon, then being Admiral of France, the which received them with great honour. But who may be that could in any manner think otherwise, but (*that*) this, such departing of the Earl of Warwick, was before known in France, in so much, that at his arrival the Admiral of France was ready to receive them at that place assigned, as it appeareth evidently, as well in the chronicles of France and also of Brittany, the years and month rehearsed in this chapter.

Treacherous invitation to the King by the Abp. of York.

The King's escape.

Earl of Warwick and Duke of Clarence flee to France.

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[34] He was translated to York, from Exeter, June 17th, 1465, holding with that Bishopric the Office of Lord Chancellor, and which he continued to hold till 1467.

[35] Sir John Radcliffe was created Lord Fitzwalter by summons, in right of his mother, Elizabeth, heiress of Lord Fitzwalter. Attainted and beheaded for being concerned in the plot of Perkin Warbeck, in 1498.

CHAP. 19.—Of the continuance of the Duke of Clarence, Earl of Warwick, with their wives and train in France, it is very necessary somewhat here to manifest as it was (*in*) deed. Within short space of their coming into Normandy they hastened towards King Louis, the which as at that time lay at his castle of Amboise beside Tours in Touraine: whither, when they were come, the King welcomed them with great feastings. And after that they had disclosed unto the King the cause of their departure out of England, and of their coming thither, anon they withdrew themselves to their lodgings. Then within short space after came from Aviow Dame Margaret,[35] Daughter of King Regnier of Sicily, wife to King Harry the Sixth, and her Son Prince Edward with her: at whose coming was shortly a great Council betwixt them to know by what manner they should return into England. The which Council dissolved, the 'foresaid Duke of Clarence, and Earl of Warwick, returned into Normandy, the which was in the month of June in the year abovesaid. And so they abode there till it was the latter end of August next following.

A.D. 1469.

They meet King Louis XIth at Amboise.

And are reconciled with Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales.

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[35] "Margaret was unfortunate—an exile; and had seen all her hopes blossom but to wither: yet she was resentful, highminded, and resolute. Warwick had dethroned her, and she could neither forgive nor trust him, nor be hereafter governed by him. He required as the conditions of his alliance and support, a complete pardon; that her only son Edward should marry his second daughter Ann; and a puissant force to England, with her authority. Louis sent for Margaret to Angiers, and urged her to comply with Warwick's terms. But she surprised him by steadily objecting to the very first article. She said, that consistently with her own or her son's honour she might not, and could not, pardon the man who had been the greatest cause of the fall of King Henry and herself; and that from her own heart, she never could be contented with him nor forgive him. To his second request, she answered, that it would be prejudicial to her interests to take party with him: that she had still many friends, whom she would lose by such a treaty; and therefore, she besought the King, that it would please him to leave off from speaking any further of the proposed pardon, amity, or alliance. There was a consistency of principle in this refusal, which though flowing perhaps from haughty and resentful feelings, yet exhibits that lofty superiority to the baser attractions of selfish interest, which always confers honour and compels respect. Margaret was never greater on her throne than in disdaining these advances of Warwick."—(*Turner's England*, vol. v. p. 325.)

A.D. 1470. Chap. 20.—During this season of their being in France, Dame Charlotte of Savoy, wife to the French King Louis, was delivered of a son, in the 'foresaid castle of Amboise, the last day of June in the same year of our Lord 1470, to whom were Godfathers at the font, Charles of Bourbon Archbishop and Cardinal of Lyons, Edward Prince, beforesaid son to King Harry the Sixth; and the Duchess of Bourbon, Sister to the forenamed King Louis: and the child was named Charles, and was King after his Father. At the which birth were made many great solemnities and triumphs throughout the Realm of France; whereupon the said Prince Edward[36] married there Anne, youngest daughter of the Earl of Warwick: the which Anne was wedded to Richard Duke of Gloucester after, in the year of our Lord 1474, at Westminster, after the death of the same Prince Edward.

Edward Prince of Wales marries Anne, daughter of the Earl of Warwick.

Chap. 21.—King Edward in this mean time was about London, to whom was brought tidings of the departing of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, and that how they passed by Wiltshire westward, had taken Anthony Lord Scales and John Lord Audley: the which two Lords they sent to the Castle of Warder, to be kept out of the way unto a time determinate, that they should have been put to execution: of the which inprisonment a gentleman of Dorsetshire, named John Thornhill, hearing, came the night following with a good company of hardy fellows, and found the means to deliver these two Lords from captivity. Whereupon they were delivered to liberty. Then the King Edward, seeing these two, Duke and Earl, so departed so suddenly, he marvelled greatly: and he, being in this anguish and trouble, had knowledge of a new rebellion in the North by the means

John Thornhill liberates the Lords Scales and Audley.

[36] The Prince of Wales is said to have been one of the handsomest and most accomplished princes in Europe. He was created Prince of Wales, A.D. 1454.

of the Lord Fitzhugh: against whom he prepared a puissance of men, and went northward: of the which when the foresaid Lord Fitzhugh was certified, he fled into Scotland (and in the same season the Earl of Oxford took shipping, and sailed into Normandy to those other Lords). Whereupon one Sir Geoffrey Gate, Knight, with the 'foresaid Clapham, had prepared at Southampton a company of their 'complices to have passed into France, to those Lords of Clarence and Warwick; but their purpose was soon disclosed. For the Earl of Worcester[37] and the Lord Howard prevented them. In so much that many of them were taken, as Sir Geoffrey Gate, the which had his pardon and afterwards went to sanctuary. Clapham was beheaded and divers others hanged, etc.

A.D. 1470. Lord Fitzhugh's rebellion.

Lord Oxford's flight into France.

Sir Geoffrey Gate pardoned, and Clapham beheaded.

Chap. 22.—Then the King seeing such commotions in the realm, and hearing nothing of the Marquis of Montague, whom he loved entirely, he rode northward and left the Queen, great with child, in the Tower of London. And as he was in the North Country, in the month of September, as he lay in his bed one named Alexander Carlisle, that was sarjeant of the minstrels, came to him in great haste, and bade him arise for he had enemies coming for to take him, the which were within six or seven miles, of the which tidings the King greatly marvelled. And suddenly upon that came one Master Alexander Lee, a Priest[38] * * * *

The King warned by Al. Carlisle, Sept. 1470.

(*The remainder of this curious Chronicle is wanting.*)

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[37] "Lord Worcester ordered Clapham (a squire to Lord Warwick) and nineteen others, gentlemen and yeomen, *to be impaled*, and from the horror of the spectacle inspired, and the universal odium it attached to Worcester, it is to be feared that the unhappy men were still sensible to the agony of this infliction, though they appear first to have been drawn, and partially hanged. Worcester was popularly called '*the Butcher*,' from his cruelty."—(*Bulwer's Last of the Barons*, vol. iii. p. 107.)

[38] The "lacunæ" in the MS. are supplied in the King's own words in the Memoirs of Phillip de Commines, vol. i. p. 249-255. Lee was Rector of Spofford in 1493.

Cont. Hist. Croyl. p. 554.

Edward was in the neighbourhood of Nottingham awaiting the assembling of his forces to disperse the rebels under Warwick and Clarence, when Carlisle, the chief of his minstrels, and Lee, the priest, apprized him of the treason of the Marquis of Montague, "whom the King loved entirely," who with 6000 *men, in the King's immediate vicinity had just declared for King Henry. He had no alternative, therefore, but to fly, and accompanied by his brother Richard, the Earl Rivers, Lord Hastings and a few other faithful followers, took shipping at Bishop's Lynn in Norfolk, and landed at Alcmar, in Friezeland, without even sufficient money in his pocket to pay his passage.*

Stapleton's Plumpton Family, p. lxxv.

"*During the year following England was a scene of fierce commotion; rebellion, fomented by the Earl of Warwick, spread on every side, till it drove the Yorkist monarch from his throne, and once more fixed the crown on the brow of Henry VI. The change was, however, transient: on the* 14*th March*, 1471, *Edward landed at Ravenspurn, the fields of Barnet and Tewkesbury were fought in succession, and in May Henry VI. died, leaving his rival in undisputed possession of the Kingdom.*"

THE

HISTORY OF THE

ARRIVAL OF KING EDWARD IV.

IN ENGLAND,

AND THE FINAL RECOVERY OF HIS KINGDOMS

FROM HENRY VI., A.D. 1471.

(FROM STOWE'S TRANSCRIPTS, HARL. MSS. 543.)

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Narrative originally appears to have been used by Holinshed, who gives a Lancastrian account of the important events it details, supplied to him by Fleetwood, Recorder of London, the possessor of the MS. which Stowe used for the transcript, preserved in the British Museum, and from which our text is taken.

Mr. Sharon Turner, and Mr. Lingard, both availed themselves of Stowe's transcript (*Harl. MSS. No.* 543), and in the year 1838, Mr. John Bruce gave a verbatim copy of the MS. as his contribution to the Camden Society.

Concerning the author nothing is known, but what he has himself communicated. He styles himself "a servant of the King, that presently saw in effect a great part of his exploits, and the residue knew by true relation of them that were present at every time." From the absence of all personal allusion to himself in the account of the various battles, and from the minuteness with which he details the King's acts of devotion, he was probably a priest. This conjecture is somewhat con-

firmed, by the slur attempted to be cast upon the bravery of the dying Warwick.

The entire period comprised in the narrative embraces only eleven weeks; but throughout all the pages of English History, it is impossible to find, elsewhere, such a rapid succession of important occurrences, as those which led to the almost perfect annihilation of the Lancastrian party, and the restoration of the House of York. These are detailed with the circumstantial accuracy of an eyewitness, and with all the exultation of a successful partisan.

An abridged version of our narrative was forwarded from Canterbury, by the King, on the 29th of May, 1471, to the Citizens of Bruges, and by them communicated to their brethren of Ghent. An English translation from this version, appeared in the Archæologia vol. xxi. p. 11.

HISTORY OF THE ARRIVAL OF KING EDWARD IV.

IN ENGLAND, AND THE FINAL RECOVERY OF HIS KINGDOMS FROM HENRY VI. IN ANNO DOMINI, 1471.

Written by an Anonymous, who was living at the same time, and a servant to the said King E. IV. Transcribed by John Stowe, the Chronicler, with his own hand.

Hereafter followeth the manner how the Most Noble The Prologue. *and right victorious Prince Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, in the year of Grace* 1471, *in the month of* A.D. 1471.

A.D. 1471. *March, departed out of Zeland; took the sea; arrived in England; and by his force and valour, again reduced and reconquered the said realm, upon and against the Earl of Warwick, his traitor and rebel, calling himself Lieutenant of England, by pretented authority of the usurper Henry, and his 'complices; and also upon and against Edward, calling himself Prince of Wales, son to the said Henry, then wrongfully occupying the Realm, and Crown of England; and upon many other great and mighty Lords, noblemen and others, being mightily accompanied. Compiled and put in this forme ensuing, by a servant of the King's, that presently saw in effect a great part of his exploits, and the residue knew by true relation of them, that were present at every time.*

CHAPTER I.

King Edward IV. quits Zeland, March 2, A.D. 1471.

In the year of Grace 1471, after the counting of the Church of England, the second day of March ending the tenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Edward the Fourth,[1] by the Grace of God, King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, the said most noble King, accompanied with two thousand Englishmen, well chosen, intending to pass the sea, and to re-enter, and recover his realm of England, at that time usurped and occupied by Henry, called Henry the Sixth, by the traitorous means of his great rebel, Richard, Earl of Warwick, and his 'complices, entered into his ship afore the Haven of Flushing, in Zeland,[2] the said 2nd day of

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[1] "In the Parliament which began on the 26th of November in the previous year, Edward was declared a traitor to his country, and an usurper of the crown, and had all his goods confiscated, and the like judgment passed against his partakers; and the Earl of Worcester was adjudged to lose his head. All the statutes likewise, made by Edward, were annulled, and the crowns of England and France entailed to Henry and his heirs male; and, for want of such, to the Duke of Clarence; and Warwick was made Governor of the kingdom."—(*England's Happiness*, p. 157-8.)

[2] The Duke of Burgundy secretly assisted King Edward, and at his expense the four vessels were fitted

March; and, forasmuch as, after he was in the ship, and the fellowship also, with all that to them apertained, the wind fell not good for him, he therefore would not return again to the land, but abode in his ship, and all his fellowship in like wise, by the space of nine days, abiding good wind and weather; which had, the eleventh day of March he made sail, and so did all the ships that awaited upon him, taking their course straight over (*towards*) the coast of Norfolk, and came before Cromer, the Tuesday, against (*towards*) evening, the twelfth day of March; whither the King sent on land Sir Robert Chamberlain, Sir Gilbert Debenham, Knights, and others, trusting by them to have some knowledge, how the land inward was disposed towards him, and 'specially the countries there near adjoining, as in part so they brought him knowledge from such as for that cause were sent into those parts, from his true servants and partakers within the land, which told them for certain, that those parts were right sore beset by the Earl of Warwick, and his adherents, and in especial by the Earl of Oxford, in such wise that of likelihood it might not be for his weal to land in that country; and a great cause was, for the Duke of Norfolk was had out of the country, and all the gentlemen to whom the Earl of Warwick bore any suspicion were afore that sent for by letters of privy seal, and put in ward about London, or else found surety; nevertheless, the said two Knights, and they that came on land with them had right good cheer, and turned again to the sea. Whose report heard the King began to make course towards the north parts. The same night following upon the morn, Wednesday and Thursday, the 14th day

A.D. 1471.

Arrives off Cromer, in Norfolk, March 12th.

out. Commines says he also sent him 50,000 florins, with St. Andrew's Cross. Moreover he privately hired fourteen ships of the Easterlings to convey the King to England, and to keep upon the coast a fortnight after his landing, to conduct him back in case of necessity. When all these ships were ready, Edward disappearing, notice was sent to the Duke, who immediately ordered proclamation to be made, that none of his subjects should assist him, directly or indirectly, upon pain of death.—(*Rapin*, vol. v. p. 63. *Commines*, Book 3, chap. 6.)

A.D. 1471. of March, fell great storms, winds and tempests upon the sea, so that the said 14th day, in great torment, he came to Humber-Head, where the other ships were dissevered from him, and every from other, so that of necessity they were driven to land, every (*one*) far from (*the*) other. The King, with his ship alone, wherein was the Lord Hastings, his Chamberlain, and others to the number of five hundred well chosen men, landed within Humber on Holderness side, at a place called

Lands at Ravenspurne accompanied by Lord Hastings.

Ravenspurne, even in the same place, where sometime the Usurper, Henry of Derby, after called King Henry the Fourth, landed, after his exile, contrary and to the dissobeisance of his sovereign lord, King Richard the Second, whom after that he wrongfully distressed, and put from his reign, and regalia, and usurped it falsely to himself, and to his issue, from whom was lineally descended King Henry, at this time using and usurping the crown; as son to his eldest son, sometime called King

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, lands.

Henry the Fifth. The King's brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, and in his company three hundred men landed at another place, four miles from thence. The

Lord Rivers lands at Powle.

Earl Rivers, and the fellowship being in his company, to the number of two hundred, landed at a place called Powle, fourteen miles from whence the King landed, and the remainder of the fellowship where they might best get land. That night the King was lodged at a poor village two miles from his landing, with a few with him; but that night and in the morning, the residue that were coming in his ship, the rage of the tempest somewhat appeased, landed, and alway drew towards the King.

The forces unite, March 15th, 1471.

And on the morn, the 15th day of March, from every landing place the fellowship came whole towards him. As to the folks of the country there came but right few to him, or almost none;[3] for by the scuringe (*assuring*)

[3] At his landing he met with a cold reception and even some opposition from the country people, headed by one Westerdale, a priest.—(*Stowe*, p. 423.)

of such persons, as for that cause were by his said rebels, sent before into those parts, for to move them to be against his Highness, the people were sore enduced to be contrary to him, and not to receive, nor accept him, as for their King; notwithstanding for the love and favour, that before they had borne to the Prince, of full noble memory, his father, Duke of York, the people bore him right great favour to be also Duke of York, and to have that (*which*) of right apertained unto him, by the right of the said noble Prince, his father. And upon this opinion the people of the country which in great number and in divers places were gathered, and in harness, (ready to resist him in chalenging of the Realm, and the crown) were disposed to content themselves, and in no wise to annoy him, nor his fellowship, they affirming, that to such intent were (*they*) coming and none other. Whereupon the whole fellowship of the King's coming and assembled together, he took advise what was best to do, and concluded briefly, that albeit his enemies and chief rebels were in the south parts at London, and thereabout, and that the next way towards them had (*to*) be by Lincolnshire, yet inasmuch, as if they should have taken that way, they must have gone presently to the water again, and passed over (*the*) Humber, which they abhorred for to do, and also for that if they so did, it would have been thought that they had withdrawn themselves for fear, which note of slander they were right loath to suffer;—for these and other good considerations they determined in themselves not to go again to the water, but to hold the right way to his City of York. The King determined also, that for as long as he should be in passing through and by the country, and to the time that he might by the assistance of his true servants, subjects and lovers, which he trusted verily in his progress should come unto him, be of such might and puissance as that were likely to make a sufficient party—he and all those of his fellowship should noise and say

A.D. 1471.

Marches to York,

A.D. 1471. with the feigned purpose of only claiming his Title as Duke of York.

openly, wheresoever they came, that his intent and purpose[4] was only to claim to be Duke of York, and to have and enjoy the inheritance, that he was born unto by the right of the full noble Prince, his father, and none other. Through which noising the people of the country, that were gathered and assembled in divers places, to the number of six or seven thousand men, by the leading and guiding of a priest the vicar of * * * * *, (*said to be one John Westerdale*) in one place, and a gentlemen of the same country called Martin of the Sea (*De la Mere*) to the intent to have resisted and letted (*hindered*) him his passage, by the stiring of his rebels, their 'complices, and adherents, took occasion to owe and bear him favour in that quarrel, not discovering nor remembering, that his said father, besides that he was rightfully Duke of York, he was also very true and rightwise inheritor to the realm and crown of England, &c.: (and so he was declared by (*the*) three estates of the land at a parliament holden at Westminster, unto this day never repealed, nor revoked.)[5] And under this manner, he keeping forth his purpose with all his fellowship, took the right way to a good town called Beverley, being in his high way towards York. He sent to an other good town, walled, but six miles thence, called Kingston upon Hull, desiring the inhabitants to have opened it unto him; but they refused so to do, by the means and stirings of his rebels, which before had sent thither, and to all the country strict commandments, willing and also charging them at all their

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[4] "It is incredible," says Hall, "what effect this new imagination (his claiming only the Duchy of York) had upon the people. All men, moved with mercy and compassion, began out of hand, either to favour him, or else not to resist him."—(*Hall*, p. 215.) "To convince them of his sincerity, he wore an ostrich feather, the ensign of Prince Edward, in his hat, and commanded his followers to cry: 'King Henry!' wherever they came."—(*Holinshed.*)

[5] See note [1]. All the Acts of Edward's Reign were annulled; this act of the Succession, however, having been passed before he came to the throne, remained in full force.

powers to withstand the King, in case he there arrived. A.D. 1471. And therefore leaving that town he kept his way forth straight to York. And near this way were also assembled great companies in divers places, much people of the country as it was reported; but they came not in sight: but all these suffered him to pass forth by the country, either for that he and all his fellowship pretended by any manner (*of*) language, none other quarrel, but for the right that was his father's, the Duke of York; or else for that though they were in number more than he, yet they durst not take upon them to make him any manifest war, knowing well the great courage and hardiness, that he was of, with the perfect assurance of the fellowship that was with him; or else, peradventure, for that certain of their captains and gatherers were somewhat induced to be the more benevolent, for money that the King gave them, wherefore the King keeping forth his way came before York, (*on*) Monday the eighteenth day of the same month. Truth it is, that before the King came at the city, by three miles came unto him one, called Thomas Coniers, Recorder of the city, which had not been before that, named true to the King's party. He told him that it was not good for him to come to the city; for either he should not be suffered to enter, or else in case he entered he was lost and undone, and all his.[6] The King seeing so far forth he was in his journey, that in no wise he might go back with that he had begun, and that no good might follow but only of hardies (*through firmness*) [and] decreed in himself constantly to pursue that he had begun; and rather to abide what God and

Arrives at York on the 18th of March.

[6] To this address from York, Edward replied: "That he was not come to take the crown from the King: that since the people had declared for Henry, he acknowledged him for his sovereign, and had no intention to do him any prejudice: that he was only come to request the King for the restitution of his estates: that the Parliament should be the judge of his cause, and desired only to have the means to pass his days quietly." Holinshed says he took a solemn oath before the Mayor and Aldermen that he did not intend to claim the crown.

A.D. 1471. good fortune would give him, though it were to him uncertain, rather than by lack or default of courage to sustain reproach, that of likelihood thereby should have ensued. And so therefore, notwithstanding the discouraging words of the Recorder, which had before suspecte (*suspicion*) to him and his party, he kept boldly forth his journey straight towards the city. And within a while came to him out of the city Robert Clifford and Richard Burgh, which gave him and his fellowship better comfort, affirming, that in the quarrel[7] aforesaid of his father, the Duke of York, he should be received, and suffered to pass; whereby, better somewhat encouraged, he kept his way; nevertheless efte soones (*soon after*) came the said Coniers, and put him in like discomfort as before. And so sometimes comforted, and sometimes discomforted, he came to the gates before the city, where his fellowship made a stop, and himself[8] and sixteen or seventeen persons, in the leading of the said Clifford and Richard Burgh, passed even in at the gates, and came to the worshipful folks, which were assembled a little within the gates, and shewed them the intent and purpose of his coming, in such form and with such manner (*of*) language, that the people contented them (*selves*) therewith, and so received him and all his fellowship that night, when he and all his fellowship abode and were refreshed well, to (*till*) they had dined on the morn, and then departed out of the city to Tadcaster, a town of the Earl of Northumberland, ten miles southwards. And on the morrow after that, he

Robert Clifford and Richard Burgh meet him and reassure him.

Enters York with them, March 18, 1471.

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[7] "He came in sight of York, and having advanced too far to recede pushed boldly on for that city. Within a mile of that city he was met by two of the inhabitants, who came out to tell him that if he only aspired to his father's dignity and possessions, he would be received with friendship and suffered to pass forward."—(*Turner*, vol. v. p. 344.)

[8] It is a noble trait in the character of Edward that he thus threw himself, as it were, into the hands of his subjects. Having stated his limited wishes, the heads of the city admitted the whole of his followers for the night, refreshed them, and after dinner on the following day suffered them to depart for Tadcaster.

took his way towards Wakefield and Sendall, a great lordship appertaining to the Duke of York, leaving the Castle of Pomfret on his left hand, where abode and was the Marquis of Montague, that in no wise troubled him, nor none of his fellowship; but suffered him to pass in peaceable wise; were it with good will or no,[9] men may judge at their pleasure:—I deem ye [*yea*]; but truth it is, that he neither had [not], nor could [not] have gathered, nor made a fellowship of number sufficient to have openly resisted him in his quarrel, neither in King Henry's quarrel. And one great cause was, (*that*) for great part of the people in those parts loved the King's person well, and could not be encouraged directly to do against him in that quarrel of the Duke of York, which, in all manner [*of*] language of all his fellowship, was covertly pretended and none other. Another great cause was for (*that*) great part of [*the*] noblemen and commons, in those parts, were (*inclined*) towards the Earl of Northumberland,[10] and would not stir with any lord or nobleman other than the said Earl, or at least by his commandment. And, for so much as he sat still, in such wise that if the Marquis would have done his business to have assembled them in any manner (*of*) quarrel, neither for his love, which they bare him not, nor for any commandment of higher authority, they neither would in no cause, nor quarrel

A.D. 1471.

Goes to Tadcaster, Wakefield, and Sendall.

Marquis of Montague suffers him to pass.

Reasons why he did so: I. The people loved him.

II. The Earl of Northumberland's influence.

[9] The Marquis of Montague, "whom the King entirely loved," was in the Castle of Pomfret. That the Marquis was firm in the interests of Warwick, subsequent events fully prove. It is therefore probable, that like Napoleon in our own times, Edward outreached his enemies by the rapidity of his movements.

[10] The Earl would appear to have written to the King when abroad, for Edward "shewed the Earl's letter he sent to him under his seal, and said he came there by the Earl of Northumberland's advice."—(*Warkworth's Chronicle.*) The neutrality of the Earl of Northumberland greatly influenced the public feeling towards the King. Had it not been for this circumstance, it is probable that the Marquis of Montague would have endeavoured to prevent his progress. Being uncertain of succour from other quarters, he felt himself too weak to oppose the Yorkists successfully, and considered he acted wisely in retaining his strength entire for the forthcoming struggle.

A.D. 1471. have assisted him. Wherein it may right well appear, that the said Earl, in this behalf, did the King right good and notable service; and as it is deemed in the conceits of many men, he could not have done him any better service, no not though he had openly declared himself extremely part-taker with the King in his righteous quarrel, and, for that intent, have gathered and assembled all the people that he might have made; for, howbeit he loved the King truly and perfectly, as the King there of had certain knowledge, and would, as of himself and all his power have served him truely; yet was it deemed, and likely it was to be true, that many gentlemen and others, which would have been raised by him, would not so fully and extremely have determined themselves in the King's right and quarrel, as the Earl would have done himself; having fresh in their remembrance, how that the King, at the first entering of his right to the Realm and Crown of England [and] had, and won, a great battle[10] in those same parts, where their Master, the Earl's father, was slain, (*with*) many of their fathers, their sons, their brethren and kinsmen, and many others of their neighbours; wherefore, and not without cause, it was thought, that they could not have borne very good will, and done their best service to the King at this time, and in this quarrel. And so it may be reasonably judged, that this was a notable good service, and politically done by the Earl. For his sitting still caused the city of York to do as they did, and no worse, and every man in all those north parts to sit still also, and suffer the King to pass as he did, notwithstanding many were right evil disposed of themselves against the King, and in especiall, in his quarrel. Wherefore the King may say as Julius Cæsar[11]

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[10] The Battle of Touton, fought March 29th, 1461. See note [8], p. 7.

[11] Fleetwood's MS. had probably only J. C., which, singularly enough, Stowe interpreted Julius Cæsar. The passage occurs in the Gospel of St. Luke, chap. xi. v. 23.

said: "he that is not against me is with me." And (*an*) other right great cause, why the Marquis made not a fellowship against him, for to have troubled him, (*was that*) for though all the King's (*fellowship*) at that season were not many in number, yet they were so (*such*) able, and so (*such*) well picked men, and in their work they had on hand so willing, that it had been right hard to right-a-great (*a truely great*) fellowship, much greater than they, or greater than that, the Marquis or his friends at that time could have made or assembled, to have put the King, and his said fellowship, to any distress. And (*an*) other cause (*was*), whereas he came through the country there, the people took (*held*) an opinion, that if the people of the countries, where through he had passed before, had owed him any manner of malice, or evil will, they would somewhat have shewed it, when he was amongst them; but inasmuch as no man had so done before, it was a declaration, and evidence to all those by whom he passed after, that in all the other countries were none but his good lovers; and great folly it had been to the latter countries to have attempted that the former countries would not; thinking verily that in such case, they, as his lovers, would rather have aided him, than he should have been distressed; wherefore he passed with much better will.

A.D. 1471.

III. The King's men were so daring and well picked, that he had not forces sufficient to oppose them.

IV. The people tacitly admit the King's right by observing what other counties do.

About Wakefield, and in those parts, came some folks unto him, but not so many as he supposed would have come; nevertheless his number was increased. And so from thence he passed forth to Doncaster, and so forth to Nottingham.[12] And to that town came unto him two

Passes through Wakefield, Doncaster, and Nottingham, March 24, 1471.

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[12] "In his march from York to London, instead of going through Pontefract, where the Marquis of Montague lay encamped, he took a compass of about four miles, and came to Nottingham, where Sir Thos. Parr, Sir James Harrington, Sir William Stanley, Sir Thos. Burgh, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Sir William Norris, &c., repaired to him. Here they persuaded him to issue out a proclamation as King, saying they would serve no man but a King."—(*Hall*, p. 215. *Stowe*, p. 423. *Holinshed*, p. 1329.)

A.D. 1471. Joined by Sir W. Parr, and Sir James Harrington, with 600 followers.

good Knights Sir William Parr, and Sir James Harrington, with two good bands of men well arrayed and habled (*fitted*) for war, (*to*) the number of six hundred men. The King being at Nottingham, and before he came there, (*having*) sent the scours (*scouts*) all about the countries adjoining, to spy and search if any gatherings were in any place against him; some of whom came to Newark,[13] and understood well, that there was, within the town, the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Bardolph, and others with great fellowship, which the Earl and they had gathered in Essex, in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire, to the number of four thousand men. The said Duke and Earl having knowledge that the said forrydars (*spies*) of the King's had been before the town in the evening, thinking verily, that the King and his whole host were approaching near, and would have come upon them, determined shortly within themselves, that (*they*) might not abide his coming. Wherefore early, about two of the clock in the morning, they fled out of the town, and there they lost part of the people, that they had gathered and brought with them thither. Truth it was, that when the King's aforneriders (*scouts*) had thus espied their being (*there*), they ascertained the King thereof at Nottingham, which incontinent assembled all his fellowship, and took the straight way to-them-wards, within three miles of the town. And there came to him certain tidings, that they were fled out of Newark, gone and dispersed; wherefore he returned again to Nottingham, determined to keep the next and right way towards his said great Rebel, the Earl of

The Duke of Exeter, and Lords Oxford and Bardolph flee from Newark.

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[13] See *Fenn's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 59, &c. The Earl of Oxford issued letters from Bury, stating the landing of Edward, and calling upon the gentry of the country he commanded, to meet him at Lynn in full array, to proceed to Newark, on Friday, the 22nd of March. He adds: "where, with the leave of God, I shall not fail to be at that time; intending from thence to go forth with the help of God, and you, my friends, to the re-encounter of the said enemies."

Warwick, the which he knew well was departed out of London, and come into Warwickshire, where he bestired him (*self*) and in the countries near adjoining, to assemble all that he might, to the intent to have made a mighty field against the King, and to have distressed him. Wherefore from Nottingham the King took the straight way towards him by Leicester; but as soon as he heard of the King's coming onwards and approaching near, either, for that (*he*) thought him (*self*) not to be of sufficient power to give him battle, in that plain field, or else, for that he lacked hardies (*firmness*) and courage so to do, albeit he had assembled greater number than the King had at that time, (for by the pretended authority of Henry, then called King, he was constituted Lieutenant[14] of England; and whereas he could not raise the people with good will, he straightly charged them to come forth upon pain of death,) he withdrew himself, and all his fellowship, into a strong walled town there near by him, called Coventry.

A.D. 1471.

Proceeds to Leicester.

Earl of Warwick in Coventry.

At Leicester[15] came to the King right-a-fair (*a truly fair*) fellowship of folks to the number of three thousand men well habyled (*fitted*) for the wars, such as were verily to be trusted, as those that would utterly inparte (*take part*) with him at best and worst in his quarrel, with all their force and might, to do him their true service. And in substance they were such as were towards the Lord Hastings, the King's Chamberlain, and, for that intent above said, came to him, stirred by his messages sent unto them, and by his servants, friends, and lovers, such as were in the country. And so better accompanied than he had been at any time before, he

The King is joined at Leicester by 3,000 followers.

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[14] Lieutenant of England. "Besides this, the Earl of Warwick, as one to whom the Commonwealth was much beholden, was made Ruler and Governour of the Realme."—(*Hall*, p. 286.)

[15] At Nottingham Edward had been joined by Sir William Parr and Sir James Harrington, with 600 followers, so that with these 3,000 additional men, "who were towards the Lord Hastings," his army now amounted to about 6,000 fighting men.

A.D. 1471. Edward IV. arrives before Coventry, and challenges Lord Warwick, March 29, 1471.

departed from Leicester, and came before the town of Coventry the 29th day of March. And when he understood the said Earl within the town (*was*) closed, and with him great (*many*) people to the number of six or seven thousand men, the King desired him to come out with all his people into the field, to determine his quarrel in plain field, which the same Earl refused [16] to do at that time, and so he did three days after-ensuing continually. The King seeing this, drew him (*self*) and all his host straight to Warwick, eight small miles from thence, where he was received as King, and so made his proclamations [17] from that time forwards; where he took his lodgings, weening thereby to have given the said Earl greater courage to have essayed out of the town of Coventry, and to have taken the field; but he would not so do. Nevertheless daily came certain persons on the said Earl's behalf to the King, and made great moynes (*complaints*,) and desired him to treat with him, for some good and expedient appointment. And, how-be-it, the King, by the advice of his Councilors, granted the said Earl his life, and all his people being there at that time, and divers other fair offers made him, considering his great and heinous offences; which seemed reasonable, and that for the weal of peace and tranquillity of the Realm of England, and for thereby to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, yet he neither would accept the said offers, nor accord thereunto, but if (*unless*) he might have had such unreasonable (*an*) appointment, as might

Proceeds to Warwick.

Offers terms to the Earl of Warwick, which are declined.

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[16] Warkworth says the Earl would have fought, but that "he had received a letter from the Duke of Clarence that he should not fight until he came." The Croyland annalist, however, says "the Earl did not dare to fight with the King."—(*Croyl. Cont.* 554.)

[17] Hall says these proclamations had already been issued at Nottingham, but this is probably a mistake. The King's army till now had scarcely numbered 3,000 men; and had the Earl of Warwick but hazarded a battle, even with the present increased troops, when thus challenged by Edward, it is most likely that the Royal army would have been annihilated; for, from the position of Clarence, it may be presumed, he was alone actuated by self-interest, and would have inclined towards the victor, whoever he might be.

not in any wise stand with the King's honour and surety. A.D. 1471.

Here is to be remembered how that at such season before, as when the King was in Holland, the Duke of Clarence,[18] the King's second brother, considering the great inconveniences whereunto as well his brother the King, he, and his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, were fallen unto, through and by the division that was betwixt them, whereunto, by the subtle compassing of the Earl of Warwick, and his 'complices, they were brought, and induced (*led into;*)—as, first to be remembered, the disinheriting of them all from the Realm and Crown of England, and that thereto appertained; and, besides that, the mortal war and detestable likely to fall betwixt them; and, over this, that it was evident that to what party so ever God would grant the victory, that, notwithstanding the winner should not be in any better surety therefore of his own estate and person, but abide in as great, or greater, danger than they were in at that time. And, in especiall, he considered well that himself was had in great suspicion, despite, disdain, and hatred, with all the lords, noblemen, and others, that were adherents, and full partakers with Henry the Usurper, Margaret his wife, and his son Edward, called Prince: he saw also, that they daily laboured amongst them (*selves*), breaking their appointments made with him, and of likelihood after that should continually more and more fervently intend, conspire, and procure, the destruction of him, and of all his blood, wherethrough it appeared also, that the Realm and Regalia should remain to such as thereunto might not in any wise have any righteous

[18] "As for tidings, here in this country be many tales, and none accord with other. It is told me by the under sheriff that my Lord of Clarence is gone to his brother the late King; insomuch that his men have the gorget on their breasts, and the Rose over it. And it is said that the Lord Howard hath proclaimed King E. (*dward*) King of England in Suffolk."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 63.)

A.D. 1471. title. And, for that it was unnatural, and against God, to suffer any such war to continue and endure betwixt them, if it might otherwise be, and, for other many and great considerations, that by right wise men and virtuous were laid before him, in many behalfs, he was agreed to intend to some good appointment for this pacification.

Intrigues against Warwick, and secret correspondence with the Duke of Clarence, before the King's arrival.

By right covert ways and means were good mediators and mediatrixes, the high and mighty Princess, my Lady their mother;[19] my Lady of Exeter, my Lady of Suffolk, their sisters; my Lord Cardinal of Canterbury; my Lord Bath; my Lord of Essex; and most 'specially, my Lady of Burgundy; and other (*ways and means*) by mediations of certain priests and other well disposed persons. About (*During*) the King's being in Holland, and in other parts beyond the sea, great and diligent labour with all effect was continually made by the right and mighty princess, the Duchess of Burgundy, which at no season ceased to send her servants and messengers to the King, where (*ever*) he was, and to my said Lord

The Duke of Clarence won over to Edward.

of Clarence, into England; and so did his very good devoir (*endeavour*) in that behalf, my Lord of Hastings, the King's Chamberlain, to (*so*) that a perfect accord was appointed, accorded, concluded, and assured betwixt them; wherein the said Duke of Clarence full honourably and truly acquitted him (*self*); for, as soon as he was ascertained of the King's arrival in the north parts, he assembled anon such as would do for him, and as soon as he godly (*well*) might, drew towards the King, him to aid and assist against all his enemies, accompanied with more than four thousand (*men*). The King (*at*) that time being at Warwick, and understanding his

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[19] This was Cicely, daughter of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland. Of her large family we here find mentioned, besides Edward the Fourth, and his brothers the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, of Margaret, married to the Duke of Burgundy; Anne, the Wife of Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter; and Elizabeth, Wife of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (*Bruce*).

near approaching, upon an afternoon issued out of War- A.D. 1471.
wick, with all his fellowship, by the space of three miles, into a fair field towards Banbury, where he saw the Duke, his brother, in fair array come towards him, with a great fellowship. And, when they were together within less than half a mile, the King set his people in array the banners (*displayed*), and left them standing still, taking with him his brother of Gloucester, the Lord Rivers, Lord Hastings, and (*a*) few others, and went towards his brother of Clarence. And, in like wise the Duke for his part, taking with him a few noble men, and leaving his host in good order, departed from them towards the King. And so they met betwixt both hosts, where was right kind and loving language betwixt them two, with perfect accord knit together for ever hereafter, with as heartily loving cheer and countenance as might be betwixt two brethren of so great nobility and estate. And then, in like wise, spake together the two Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and after (*that*) the other noblemen being there with them, whereof all the people there that loved them, and owed them their true servaunts (*service*,) were right glad and joyous, and thanked God highly of that joyous meeting, unity, and accord, hoping, that thereby should grow unto them prosperous fortune, in all that they should after that have a (*to*) do. And then the trumpets and minstrels blew up, and with that the King brought his brother Clarence, and such as were there with him to his fellowship, whom the said Duke welcomed into the land in his best manner, and they thanked God, and him, and honoured him as it appertained. After this, the King yet leaving his host standing still, with the said few persons went with his brother of Clarence to his host, whom he heartily welcomed, and promised him largely of his grace and good love, and from thence they all came altogether to the King's host, when either party welcomed and jocundly received the other, with perfect friendliness,

Reconciliation of the Royal brothers.

Their forces join, and proceed to Warwick.

A.D. 1471. and, so with great gladness, both hosts[20] with their princes, together went to Warwick with the King, and there lodged, and in the country near adjoining.

The Duke of Clarence attempts a reconciliation with Warwick.

Soon after this the Duke of Clarence, being right desirous to have procured a good accord betwixt the King and the Earl of Warwick; not only for the Earl, but also for to reconcile thereby unto the King's good grace many lords and noble men of his land; of whom many had largely taken part with the Earl; and this for the weal of peace and tranquility in the land, and in avoiding of cruel and mortal war, that of the contrary was likely, in shortime, to ensue;—he made therefore his motions as well as to the King, as to the Earl, by messages sending to and fro, both for the well above said, as to acquit him (*self*) truely and kindly in the love he bare unto him, and his blood, whereunto he was allied by the marriage of his daughter. The King, at the instance of his said brother, the Duke, was content to shew him largely his grace, with divers good conditions, and profitable for the Earl, if that he would have

Warwick refuses.

accepted them. But the Earl, whether he in manner despaired of any good [par]-durable continuance of good accord betwixt the King and him (*self*,) for time to come, considering so great attempts by him comitted against the King; or else, for that willing to entertain the great promises, 'pacts, and oaths, to the contrary, made solemnly, and also privately sworn to the French King, Queen Margaret, and her son, Edward, in the quarrel of them, and of his own seeking, where from he could not depart without great slander; or else, for that he had afore thought, and therefore purveyed (*provided*) that in case he might not get to have the overhand of the King, his means were found of sure and

[20] The Duke's forces amounted to 4,000, and those of the King to about 7,000. Thus from his first landing at Ravenspurne on the 14th of March, in little more than a fortnight he found himself at the head of an army of 11,000 well chosen men.

certain escape, by the sea, to Calais,[21] which was ensured to himself in every case, that might happen (*to*) him, so that it might fortune him to come thither; or else, for that certain persons being with him in company, as the Earl of Oxford and others, being disposed in extreme malice against the King, would not suffer him to accept any manner of appointment, were it reasonable or unreasonable, but caused him to refuse all manner of appointments; which as many men deem was the very cause of none accepting of the King's (*grace*), wherefore all such treaty broke and took none effect. A.D. 1471.

In this mean season of the King's being at Warwick, came to the Earl of Warwick to Coventry, the Duke of Exeter, the Marquis of Montague, the Earl of Oxford, with many others in great number, by whose then coming daily grew and increased the fellowship of that party. The King with his brethren this considering, and that in no wise he could provoke him to come out of the town, not thinking it behoveful to assail, nor to tarry for the assieging thereof; as well for avoidance of great slaughter that should thereby ensue, and for that it was thought more expedient to them to draw towards London, and there, with help of God, and the assistance of his true lords, lovers, and servants, which were there, in those parts, in great number; knowing also that his principal adversary, Henry, with many (*of*) his partakers were at London, there usurping, and using the authority royal, which barred and letted (*hindered*) the King of many aids and assistances, that he should and might have had, in divers parts, if he might once shew himself of power to break the authority; wherefore by the advise

Edward marches towards London, April 5th, 1471.

[21] See the curious plan of Calais prefixed to the present volume. The Earl's popularity as Captain of Calais was so great, that, within a few minutes of the arrival of the news of the restoration of Henry VI. everybody in the town, from the richest to the poorest, placed the Earl's badge on his cap. This fever of excitement is graphically painted by Commines, who was an eye-witness of it.—(Vol. i. p. 202.)

A.D. 1471. of his said brothers and other of his council, he took his purpose to London wards, and so departed from Warwick; yet efte sones (*soon after*) shewing him (*self*) and his host before Coventry, and desiring the said Earl, and his fellowship, to come out, and for to determine his quarrel by battle, which he and they utterly refused; wherefore the King and his brothers kept forth their purpose southwards.[22] And this was the 5th day April, the Friday.

Arrives at Daventry on Palm Sunday, April 7th, 1471.

On the Saturday, the King with all his host, came to a town called Daventry, where the King with great devotion heard all divine service upon the morn, Palm-Sunday, in the parish church, where God and Saint Anne, shewed a fair miracle; a good prognostic of good adventure, that after should befall unto the King by the hand of God, and mediation of that holy matron, Saint Anne. For, so it was, that afore that time, the King being out of his realm, in great trouble, thought, and heaviness, for the misfortune and adversity that was fallen him, full often, and specially upon the sea, he prayed to God, our Lady, and Saint George, and, amongst other saints, he specially prayed Saint Anne to help him, where that he promised, that at the next time that it should happen (*to*) him to see any image of Saint Anne, he should thereunto make his prayers, and give his offering in the honour and worship of that blessed Saint. So it fell, that the same Palm Sunday, the King went in procession, and all the people after, in good devotion as the service of that day asketh, and when the procession was come into the church, and by order of the service were

[22] It is impossible to understand the policy of the Earl of Warwick in not attacking the King, when this last defiance was given. He had been joined by all his followers, and though Clarence had deserted to the King, he could not fear treachery from the Duke of Exeter, the Marquis of Montague, and the Earl of Oxford, who now added their forces to his. He must have seen the folly of allowing the King to obtain the custody of Henry, in whose name and authority he acted, and which his rival's march southward sufficiently indicated to be his object in raising the siege.

come to that place, where the veil should be drawn up before the Rood, (*Cross*) that all the people shall honour the Rood, with the anthem: "Ave," three times begun,—in a pillar of the church directly before the place, where the King kneeled, and devoutly honoured the Rood, was a little image of Saint Anne, made of alabaster, standing fixed to the pillar, 'closed and clasped together with four boards, small, painted, and going round about the image, in (*the*) manner of a compass, like as it is to (*be*) see (*n*) commonly, and all about, whereat such images be wont to be made for to be sold, and set up in churches, chapels, crosses, and oratories, in many places. And this image was thus shut, closed, and clasped, according to the rules, that in all the churches of England be observed; all images to be hid from Ash Wednesday to Easter day in the morning. And so the said image had been from Ashwednesday to that time. And even suddenly, at that season of the service, the boards, 'compassing the image about, gave a great crack, and a little opened; which the King well perceived and all the people about him. And anon, after the boards drew and closed together again, without any man's hand, or touching, and, as though it had been a thing done with a violence, with a greater might it opened all abroad, and so the image stood, open and discoverd, in (*the*) sight of all the people there being. The King, this seeing, thanked and honoured God, and Saint Anne, taking it for a good sign, and token of good and prosperous adventure, that God would send him (*aid*) in that he had to do, and remembering his promise, he honoured God and Saint Anne, in that same place, and gave his offerings. All those, also, that were present, and saw this, worshipped, and thanked God and Saint Anne there, and many offered; taking of this sign, shewed by the power of God, good help* of their good speed for to come.

A.D. 1471.

Miracle of St. Anne.

* Mr. Bruce suggests the reading: *hope*, for *help*.

A.D. 1471. The King goes to Northampton.

The King from that town went to a good town, called Northampton, where he was well received, and from thence took the next way towards London, leaving always behind him, in his journey, a good band of spears and archers (*for*) his behind-riders (*rear guard*) to 'counter, if it needed, such of the Earl's party, as, peradventure, he should have sent to have troubled him on the backhalfe, (*rear*,) if he so had done.

Here it is to be remembered, that (in this season of the King's coming towards, and being at Warwick, and of the coming to him of his brother the Duke of Clarence) Edmund, calling himself Duke of Somerset,[23] John of Somerset, his brother, called Marquis Dorset, Thomas Courtney,[24] calling himself the Earl of Devonshire, being at London, had knowledge out of France, that Queen Margaret, and her son called, Prince of Wales, the Countess of Warwick, the Prior of Saint John's, the Lord Wenlock, with many other (*of*) their adherents and partakers, with all that ever they might make, were 'ready at the sea-side coming, purposing to arrive in the West Country; wherefore they departed out of London, and went into the west parts, and there bestired themselves right greatly to make an assembly of as much people, for to receive them at their coming, them to accompany, fortify, and assist, against the King, and all his partakers, in the quarrels of Henry, called King, and occupying the regalia for that time. And true it was, that she, her son, the Countess of Warwick, the Lords, and other of their fellowship, entered their ships for that intent the twenty-fourth of March,[25] and so continued their abode

News of Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales.

Queen Margaret, the Prince of Wales, and Countess of Warwick remain windbound from March 24th to April 13th.

[23] Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, an adherent to Henry VI. and Queen Margaret, Commander at the Battle of Tewkesbury, which being lost, he fled to Sanctuary, whence he was taken and beheaded, his death adding but another crime to the dark catalogue of those committed by the selfish Edward.

[24] In a letter dated Aug. 5, 1470, Sir John Paston says: "*Cortenayes be landed in Devenschyer and ther rewle*," so that the Earl had assumed his forfeited title.—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 48.)

[25] Queen Margaret and the young Prince of Wales took shipping at Harfleur on the 24th of March; and, by

in their ships, or (*ere*) they might land in England, to the thirteenth day of April, for default of good wind, and for great tempests upon the sea, that time, as who saith (*one should say*) continuing by the space of twenty days. A.D. 1471.

But leave we this, and return again to the King's progress, in his journey towards London, telling how, that he came upon the Tuesday, the ninth day of April, from whence he sent comfortable messages to the Queen to Westminster, and to his true Lords, servants, and lovers, being at London: whereupon, by the most covert means that they could, (*they*) advised and practised, how that he might be received, and welcomed, at his said city of London. The Earl of Warwick knowing this, his journeying and approaching to London, sent his letters to them of the city, willing and charging them to resist him, and let (*hinder*) the receiving of him and his. He wrote also to his brother, the Archbishop of York,[26] desiring him to put him in the uttermost devoir (*endeavour*) he could, to provoke the city against him, and keep him out, for two or three days; promising that he would not fail to come with great puissance on the back half (*rear*), trusting utterly to distress, and destroy him, and his, as to the same he had by his other writings charged the mayor, and the aldermen, and the commons (*council*) of the city. Edward arrives before London, April 9th.

Hereupon, the ninth day of April, the Archbishop The Archbishop of

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one of those singular coincidences, which give an air of romance to real events, it was not till Easter Sunday, April the 14th, the day on which all the hopes of the House of Lancaster were destroyed at Barnet, that adverse winds and tempests permitted them to land at Weymouth.

[26] George Neville, brother of the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquis of Montague, was created Bishop of Exeter, in 1455, before he was 20 years of age. In 1460 he was made Chancellor, and 1466 translated to York. He seems to have fallen into poverty after the restoration of Edward IV.—(See *Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 35, and also: *Godwin de Praesulibus*, where Edward's conduct towards him seems the effect of the basest of passions, avarice.)

A.D. 1471. called unto him together, at Saint Pauls, within the
York opposes his entry, and said City of London such lords, gentlemen, and others, as were of that party (*and*) as many men in harness of their servants, and others, as they could make, which in
rides with King Henry VI. through the town. all passed not in number six or seven thousand men, and, thereupon, caused Henry,[27] called King, to take a horse and ride from St. Pauls through Cheape, and so made a circuit about to Walbrook, as the general procession of London hath been accustomed, and so returned again to St. Pauls, to the Bishop's Palace, where the said Henry at that time was lodged,—supposing, that, when he had shewed him in this array, they should have provoked the citizens and the inhabitants of the city to have stood, and come to them, and fortified (*strengthened*) that
But the citizens look with apathy at the procession. party; but truth it is, that the rulers of the city were at the council, and had set men at all the gates, and wards, and, they seeing by this manner of doing, that the power of the said Henry, and his adherents, was so little, and feeble as there and then was shewed, they could thereby take no courage to draw to them, nor to fortify their party; and, for that they feared, but rather the contrary, for so much as they saw well, that if they would so have done, their might was so little, that it was not for them to have once attempted to have resisted the King,
Edward IV. at St. Albans. in his coming, which approached near unto the city, and was that night at St. Albans. They also of the city in

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[27] The conduct of the Archbishop of York in thus exhibiting the King, Henry VI., entirely failed in the object he had in view. The Citizens of London were then, as in future times, governed chiefly by self-interest. Henry's habits were religious, and his house expenses even parsimonious. The rich traders of the metropolis loved, a gay court, and the consequent expenditure caused by Masques and Revels. The Citizens' wives, however, are said to have had no small hand in throwing open the gates to the recently deposed king. "The Citizens opened their gates freely to him, being induced thereto: I. by his many friends, who had taken sanctuary, and particularly by the Queen, his wife; II. because he owed many merchants great sums, which otherwise had been lost; and III. as Edward had been familiar with the wives of the chief Citizens, they persuaded their husbands to declare for him." — (*Commines*, book iii. chap. 7.)

great number, and namely of the most worshipful, were fully disposed to favour the King, and to have the city open unto him at his coming. They of the city also considered, that he was notably well accompanied with many good, able, and well-willed men, which, for no power, nor, no resistance that might be made, would spare to attempt, and support the taking the city, by all ways possible; whereof they should not have failed, considering that the King, at that time, had many great and mighty friends, lovers, and servitors, within the said city, which would not have failed by divers enterprises (*to*) have made the city open unto him: as this might not be unknown unto right many of the said city, and also as might appear by that (*which*) was done after in that behalf, and to that intent. Thus, what for love that many bare to the King, and what for dread that many men had, how that in case the city should have been won upon them by force, the citizens should therefore have sustained harm and damages irreparable, and for many other great considerations, the mayor, aldermen, and other worshipful (*persons*) of the city, determined clearly amongst themselves to keep the city for the King, and to open it to him at his coming; and so they sent to him, that therein they would be guided to his pleasure. The Archbishop of York, understanding the King's coming, and approaching near to the city, sent secretly unto him desiring to be admitted to his grace, and to be under good appointment, promissing therefore to do unto him great pleasure for his weal and safety; whereunto the King, for good causes and considerations, agreed so to take him to his grace. The Archbishop, thereof assured, was right well pleased, and therefore well and truly acquit (*ed*) him (*self*) in observing the promise, that he had made to the King in that behalf.

A.D. 1471.

The citizens inclined towards Edward IV.

The Archbishop of York makes his peace with Edward IV.,

The same night following the Tower of London was taken for the King's behalf, whereby he had a plain

in whose name possession is taken

of the Tower, April 10th, 1471.

entry into the city; though all they had not been determined to have received him in, as they were. And on the morrow, the Thursday, the eleventh day of April, the King came, and had plain overture of the said city,

Edward IV. goes to St. Paul's, April 11th, 1471.

and rode straight to St. Pauls Church, and from thence went into the Bishop's Palace, where the Archbishop of

The Archbishop delivers up Henry the Sixth.

York[28] presented himself to the King's good grace, and in his hands the usurper, King Henry, and there was the King seized of him and divers rebels. From St. Pauls the King went to Westminster, there honoured, and made his devout prayers, and gave thanks to God, St. Peter, and St. Edward, and then went to the Queen, and comforted her, that had a long time abode, and

Meeting of Edward and his family in the Sanctuary, Westminster.

sojourned at Westminster[29] (assuring her person only by the great franchise of that holy place) in right great trouble, sorrow, and heaviness, which she sustained, with all manner (*of*) patience that belonged to any creature, and as constantly as hath been seen, at any time, any of so high estate to endure; in the which season, nevertheless, she had brought into this world, to the King's greatest joy, a fair son, a prince wherewith she presented him at his coming, to his hearts singular comfort and gladness, and to all them that him truely loved, and would serve.[30] From thence, that night, the King re-

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[28] Edward entered London and immediately thanked the people for their affection, and promised to have it in everlasting remembrance. He seconded this promise with several acts of clemency, which entirely won him the hearts of the citizens. Meanwhile, Henry VI. having been betrayed to his rival by the wily Archbishop of York, was again imprisoned in the Tower, from whence he had been taken seven months before to remount the throne of his father and grandfather.—(See *Rapin*, vol. v. p. 69, and *Holinshed*, p. 1332.)

[29] "The Queen that was, and the Duchess of Bedford be in Sanctuary at Westminster; the Bishop of Ely, with other Bishop's are at St. Martin's" (le Grand).—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 53.)

[30] This child was the unfortunate Edward V. concerning whose fate we have no legitimate clue. The Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of the highest character, to whom the Queen had intrusted her younger son, and who had pledged himself for his security, placed the crown on the head of his uncle, Richard III.; which ceremony was witnessed by the chief nobility. In the coronation roll is a remarkable list of the necessaries furnished

turned to London, and the Queen with him, and lodged at the lodging of my lady, his mother, where they heard divine service that night, and upon the morrow Good Friday; where also, on the morrow, the King took advice of the great lords of his blood, and others of his council, for the adventures that were likely for to come. The Earl of Warwick, (calling himself Lieutenant of England, and so constituted by the pretended authority of King Henry,) being at Coventry, and understanding well that the King would do much to be received in at London; and wist not in certain, (*and not knowing for certain*) yes or no, issued out of Coventry with a great puissance, the lords, and all that he might make with him, and, by Northampton, took their way after the King, supposing verily to have had right great advantage upon him by one of these two ways; either, that the city should have kept the King out, which failed; or else, in case he were received in, he should there (*have*) kept and observed the solemnity of Easter, and, if he so did, he thought suddenly to come upon him, take him, and destroy him, and (*to have*) deceived his people; but the King well advertised of this evil and malicious purpose, did (*use*) great diligence to rencounter him, ere he might come near unto the city, as far from it as he goodly might, and, therefore, with a great army he departed

A.D. 1471.

Sleeps at the Duchess of York's, Baynard's Castle.

The Earl of Warwick quits Coventry in pursuit of Edward IV. through Northampton.

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to "Lord Edward, son of late King Edward IV." to enable him to walk in his uncle's coronation procession. From this we may conclude that Richard assumed the crown with the concurrence of the nobility; and such being the case, the murder of his nephews would have been a gratuitous piece of cruelty on his part. Sir Thos. More, the original promulgator of the supposed murder of the princes in the Tower, by order of their uncle, places this event seven months prior to the act which bastardized the children of the late King. By murdering his nephews and allowing his nieces to survive he would have committed two great errors: 1stly, have made it apparent that the act of bastardy was void; and 2dly, have provided any successful soldier, like Richmond, a title by marriage, in right of the Princess Elizabeth, to have claimed the crown. The solution of this mystery must probably be sought in the fate of Perkin Warbeck. To prevent the recurrence of similar claims, the crafty Henry VII. gave out that the young princes had been murdered by their uncle.

Edward IV. quits London to meet the Earl, April 13th, 1471.

out of the city of London towards him, upon the Saturday, Easter even, the thirteenth day of April. And so he took in his company to the field King Henry;[30] and so, that afternoon, he rode to Barnet,[31] ten miles out of London, where his aforeriders (*van-guard*) had found the aforeriders of the Earl of Warwick's host, and beat them, and chased them out of the town, more somewhat than half a mile; where, under a hedge-side, were 'ready assembled a great people in array of the Earl of Warwick's. The King coming after to the said town, and understanding all this, would not suffer one man to abide in the same town; but had them all to the field with him, and drew towards his enemies without the town. And, for (*that*) it was right dark, and he might not well see where his enemies were embattled (*encamped*) before him, he lodged him (*self*), and all his host, before them, much near (*er*) than he had supposed; but he took not his ground so even in the front before them, as he should have done, if he might better have seen them; but somewhat aside-hand, where he disposed all his people, in good array all that night; and so they kept them still without any manner (*of*) language, or noise, but as little as they well might. Both parties had guns and ordinance, but the Earl of Warwick had many more than the King, and therefore in the night, weening (*thinking*) greatly to have annoyed the King, and his host, with shot of guns, the Earl's field shot guns almost all the night. But, thanked be God! it so fortuned that they always overshot the King's host, and hurt them nothing; and the cause was, the King's host lay much nearer them, than they deemed. And, with that also, the King and his host kept passing great silence almyghe

Arrangements overnight previous to the battle.

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[30] "Edward brought Henry with him, not daring to commit him to any one's custody."—(*Rapin.*)

[31] It is generally supposed that the Earl was encamped on Gladsmore Heath, one mile from Chipping Barnet; but the distance here mentioned appears to refer to Barnet in Middlesex.—(See note, p. 67.)

(*all night*) and made, as who saith, (*as one should say*) no noise, whereby they might not know the very place where they lay. And for that they should not know it, the King suffered no guns to be shot on his side, all that night, or else right few, which was to him (*of*) great advantage, for thereby he (*Warwick*) might have esteemed the ground that he (*Edward*) lay in, and have levelled there guns near. A.D. 1471.

On the morrow, betimes, the King,[32] understanding that the day approached near, betwixt four and five of the clock, notwithstanding there was a great mist, and letted (*hindered*) the sight of each other, yet he committed his cause and quarrel to Almighty God, advanced (*his*) banners, did blow up (*on*) trumpets, and set upon them, first with shot, and then, and soon, [ther] they joined, and came to hand-strokes, wherein his enemies manly and courageously received them, as well in shot as in hand-strokes, when they joined; which joining of their both battles (*armies*) was not directly front to front, as they so should have joined [ne had be] (*had it not been for*) the mist, which suffered neither party to see (*the*) other, but for a little space; and that of likelihood caused the battle to be the more cruel and mortal; for, so it was, that the one end of their battle overreached the end of the King's battle, and so at that end they were much mightier, than was the King's battle at the same (*end*), that joined with them, which was the west end, and therefore, upon that part of the King's battle, they had a greater distress upon the King's party; wherefore many fled towards Barnet, and so forth to London, ere ever they left (*off*); and they (*the Earl's party*) fell into the chase of them and

Battle of Barnet commenced on Easter Sunday, April 14, 1471, at half-past 4 o'clock A.M.

Part of Edward IV. troops give way,

[32] In Edward's army the front was led by Richard, Duke of Gloucester; Edward himself and the Duke of Clarence commanded the main body; and William, Lord Hastings, the rear. In Warwick's army the right wing was commanded by the Marquis of Montague, and the Earl of Oxford; the left by the Earl himself, and the Duke of Exeter; and a body of Archers, forming his centre, by the Duke of Somerset.—(See *Hall*, p. 217.)

A.D. 1471. did much harm. But the other parties, and the residue of neither battle, might see that distress, neither the fleeing, nor the chase, because of (*the*) great mist that was, which would not suffer no (*any*) man to see but a little from him; and so the King's battle, which saw none of all that, was thereby in nothing discouraged, for, save only a few that were near unto them, no man wist (*knew*) thereof; also the other party by the same distress, flight, or chase, were therefore never the greatlyer encouraged. And, in likewise at the east end, the King's battle, when they came to joining, overeached their battle, and so distressed them there greatly, and so drew near towards the King,[33] who was about the midst of the battle, and sustained all the might and weight thereof. Nevertheless upon the same little distress[34] at the west end, anon ran (*the news*) to Westminster, and to London, and so further to other countries, that the King was distressed, and his field lost;

and spread false news of his defeat.

[33] "In personal prowess, and dauntless courage, the chieftains on either side might compare with the greatest heroes of antiquity. In numbers the Yorkists, under Edward, *greatly exceeded* the Lancastrians commanded by Warwick, who, however, was better provided with artillery. This, we have seen, owing to the mist, quaintly ascribed by the old chronicler, Fabian, to the incantations of Friar Bungay, who had accompanied the King for the purpose of aiding, by magical agency, the cause of Edward, was of little use, as a constant waste of ammunition had been kept up throughout the night, against the supposed position of the Yorkists."—(See *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. vii. p. 322.)

[34] This partial success was the ultimate ruin of the Earl's party. The Earl of Oxford, the celebrated John de Vere, had succeeded in driving back the Yorkists. Returning from his victorious assault to his own lines, through the mist which overhung the field of battle, his badge, a star with streams, was mistaken for Edward's device of a sun. Warwick's own band charged these troops furiously, and they in turn, seeing themselves thus attacked by their own companions, imagined treachery, and fled towards the enemy. Edward, taking advantage of the mistake, cut to pieces those that came flying towards him; for he had ordered in the commencement that no quarter should be given. Willing to retrieve this error, and anxious to reanimate his troops by his example, the Earl rushed on foot amongst the thickest of his enemies, where he fell covered with wounds. There is a traditional anecdote, which says, "that the Earl and Richard, Duke of Gloucester, met in this last charge, and that the Earl, mindful of his promise to the dying Duke of York, spared the arm, which within a few minutes after laid him low." The Marquis of Montague rushed to his rescue, and perished by his side.

but the laud be to Almighty God! it was otherwise; A.D. 1471. for the King, trusting verily in God's help, our blessed Lady's, and Saint George, took to him great hardiess and courage, for to suppress the falsehood of all them, that so falsely, and so traitorously, had conspired against him, wherethrough, with the faithful, well-beloved, and mighty assistance of his fellowship, that in great number disevered not from his person, and were as well assured unto him as to them was possible, he manly, vigorously, and valiantly, assailed them in the midst, and strongest of their battle, where he, with great violence, beat and bare down before him all that stood in his way, and then turned to the range, first on that hand, and then on that other hand, in length, and so beat and bare them down, so that nothing might stand in the sight of him, and the well assured fellowship, that attended truly upon him; so that, blessed be God! he won the field there, and the perfect victory remained unto him, and to his rebels the discomfiture of thirty thousand[35] men, as they numbered themselves.

Edward's personal prowess and ultimate success.

In this battle was slain the Earl of Warwick, somewhat flying,[36] which was taken, and reputed as chief of the field, in that he was called amongst them Lieutenant of England, so constituted by the pretended authority of King Henry. There was also slain the Marquis Montague, in plain battle, and many other knights, squires, noble men, and others. The Duke of Exeter[37]

Deaths of the Earl of Warwick and his brother the Marquis of Montague.

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[35] The number of Warwick's troops is undoubtedly much overrated in the text at 30,000, as Edward's army only numbered 9,000. Rapin says, "the Earl of Warwick's troops, though *inferior* in number, fought desperately," which appears a complete contradiction to the above.—(See also note [33], p. 64.)

[36] There is nothing to authenticate this aspersion upon the personal bravery of the bravest man of a brave age. The writer of the present fragment is biassed by his Yorkist predilections, and the great merit of his narrative is the minuteness with which he details the more peaceable section of the King's progress. He was evidently not a fighting man, and reminds one strongly of the concluding lines of the fable of the dead lion:—

———"Asinus ut vidit ferum
Impune lædi; calcibus frontem exterit."

[37] Henry Holland, Duke of Exe-

A.D. 1471. was smitten down, and sore wounded, and left for dead; but he was not well known, and so left by a little out of the field, and so after he escaped. The Earl of Oxford fled, and took into the country, and, in his flight, fell in company with certain northern men, that also fled from the same field, and so went he in their company northwards, and after that into Scotland.

Flight of the Duke of Exeter and Earl of Oxford.

The battle lasted three hours.

This battle 'dured, fighting and skirmishing some time in one place and some time in an other, right doubtfully, because of the mist, by the space of three hours, ere it was fully achieved: and the victory is given to him by God, by the mediation of the most blessed Virgin and Mother, our Lady, Saint Mary; the glorious martyr, St. George, and all the Saints of Heaven maintaining his quarrel to be true righteous, with manifold good and continual prayers, which many devout persons, religious and others, ceased not to yield unto God for his good speed, and, in especial, that same day and season, when it pleased God to accept the prayers of people, being confessed, and in clean life, which was the Easter morning, the time of the service-doing of the resurrection, commonly by all the churches of England. And, albeit, the victory remained to the King, yet was it not without great danger and hurt: for there were slain[38] in the field, the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Say, the Lord Mountjoy's son and heir, and many other good Knights, and squires, good yeomen, and many other menial servants of the King's. And it is to wit, (*to be noted*) that it

Lords Cromwell and Say and other Yorkists slain.

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ter, was brother-in-law to King Edward the Fourth, having married his sister Anne.

[38] Hall says there were 10,000 slain on both sides; Fabian says about 1,500, and Stow 4,000. A contemporary writer, however, and one who was present in Warwick's army, confirms in some measure the number given by Fabian. "There was killed upon the field, half a mile from Barnet, on Easter day, the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis Montague, Sir William Tyrell, Sir Lewis Johns, and divers other Esquires of our country, Godmarston and Booth. And on the King Edward's party, the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Say, Sir Humphrey Bourchier of our country, which is a sore mourned man here; and other people of both parties to the number of more than a thousand." — (*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 65.)

could not be judged, that the King's host 'passed in number nine thousand men; but such a Great and Gracious Lord, is Almighty God, that it pleaseth him (*to*) give the victory, as well to (*the*) few, as to (*the*) many; wherefore to Him be the laud, and the thanks! And so the King gave him special loving, and all that were with him. This thus done, the King, the same day, after that he had a little refreshed himself and his host at Barnet,[39] he gathered his fellowship together, and with them returned to his City of London, where into he was welcomed, and received, with much joy and gladness. And so he rode forth straight unto St. Pauls, at London, and there was received with (*by*) my Lord Cardinal of England, and many other bishops, prelates, lords spiritual, and temporal, and others in great number, which all humbly thanked, and loved God, of his Grace that it pleased him, that day to give to their Prince and Sovereign Lord so prosperous a journey, whereby he had suppressed them, that, of so great malice, had procured and laboured at their powers his utter destruction, contrary to God, and to their faiths and 'liegeances. A.D. 1471.

Edward IV. returns thanks at St. Paul's.

On the morrow after, the King commanded that the bodies of the dead lords, the Earl of Warwick, and his brother, the Marquis, should be brought to St. Pauls in London, and, in the church there, openly shewed,[40] to all

The dead bodies of the great Earl and his brother exposed at St. Paul's.

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[39] The exact site of this celebrated field is not known, though a chapel was erected on the spot, where the slain were buried, in memory of them. In the year 1740 Sir Jeremy Sambrook erected an obelisk near the point where the high road divaricates towards Hatfield and St. Alban's, with this inscription, "*Here was fought the famous battle between Edward IV. and the Earl of Warwick, April* 14*th, Anno* 1471; *in which the Earl was defeated and slain.*" This would make Gladsmore or Bentley Heath the scene of this deadly struggle. It is in the parish of Hadley, and was enclosed by Act of Parliament. It is about one mile distant from Chipping Barnet, and about 13 miles from London. Sir John Paston, who was present at the Battle, says, however, distinctly that the field was "*half a mile* from Barnet."—(See note [38].)

[40] "The bodies of these two noblemen were exposed three days to public view in St. Paul's Cathedral, and then conveyed to, and buried at Bisham Abbey, Berks."—(*Fenn.*)

A.D. 1471. the people; to the intent, that after that, the people should not be abused by feigned seditious tales, which many of them, that were wont to be towards the Earl of Warwick, had been accustomed to make; and, peradventure, so would have made after that, had not the dead bodies there been shewed, open and naked, and well known; for, doubtless, else the rumour should have been sown about, in all countries, that they both, or else at the least, the Earl of Warwick was yet alive, upon (*the*) cursed intent, thereby to have caused new murmurs, insurrections, and rebellions, amongst indisposed people; such, namely, as many days had been led to great inconveniences and mischievous doings, by means of the false feigned fables, and slanders, that by his subtlety and malicious moving were wont to be seditiously sown, and blown about all the land by such persons as could use, and long had used, that cursed custom; whereof as it is commonly said, right many were towards him, and for that intent, returned and waged with him.

CHAPTER II.

Here after followeth, how that Queen Margaret, with her son Edward, called Prince of Wales, after their arrival in the west country assembled great people, and came to Tewkesbury, where the King delivered them battle, distressed them, and their fellowship: the said Edward, the Duke of Somerset, and others were slain.

King Edward learns the arrival of Queen Margaret

After all these things were thus fallen, the Tuesday in Easter week, the sixteenth day of April, came certain tidings[1] to the King, how, that Queen Margaret, her

[1] "As for other tidings, (*it*) is understood here, that the Queen Margaret is verily landed, and her Son, in the West Country, and I trow (*believe*) that as tomorrow or else the next day, the King Edward will depart from hence to Leeward, to drive her out again. God hath shewed himself marvellously like him that made all, and can undo

son, Edward, called Prince of Wales, the Countess of Warwick, the Prior of Saint John's, (*at*) that time called Treasurer of England, the Lord Wenlock, and many other knights, squires, and others of their party, which long had been out of the land with them, with such, also, as with the said Prior of Saint John's had gone into France to fetch them into England, were arrived, and landed in the west country upon Easter day at Weymouth, after long abiding passage, and being on the sea, and landing again for default of good wind, and weather. For truth it is, that the Queen, and Edward her son, with all their fellowship, intending to pass out of Normandy into England, took first the sea at Honfleur in the month of March, the twentyfourth day of the same (*month*,) and from that time forthwards they could not have any stable weather to pass with; for, and (*if*) it were one day good, anon it changed upon them, and was against them, and fain they were, therefore, to go to land again. And so, at divers times, they took the sea, and forsook it again, till it was the thirteenth day of April, Easter Eve. That day they passed. The Countess of Warwick[2] had a ship of avaunctage, and, therefore, landed before the other, at Portsmouth, and from thence she went to Southampton, intending to have gone towards the Queen, which was landed at Weymouth. But, being there, she had certain knowledge, that the King had won the field upon her husband at Barnet, and there slain him, wherefore she

and her followers at Weymouth. A.D. 1471.

The Countess of Warwick landed at Portsmouth,

learning the fate of the Earl at Barnet, takes sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey.

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again when him list; and I can think that by all likelihood shall shew himself as marvellous again, and that in short time: and, as I suppose, oftner than once in cases like."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 67.)

[2] Anne, widow of the great Earl of Warwick, sister and heir to Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, and mother of Isabel, Duchess of Clarence, and of the Lady Anne Neville, Queen to Richard III., upon whose marriage the princely inheritance was divided between the two sisters, leaving but a small allowance to their widowed parent. She took refuge in Beverley sanctuary, and was thence conveyed northward in the year 1473, "men say by the King's assent, whereto some men say, that the Duke of Clarence is not agreed."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 145.)

A.D. 1471. would no farther go towards the Queen; but secretly got over Hampton-water into the New Forest, where she (*be*) took her (*self*) to the franchise of an Abbey, called Beaulieu, which, as it is said, is ample, and as large as the franchise of Westminster, or of Saint Martins (*Le Grand*) at London.

Queen Margaret goes to Cerne Abbey, and is visited by Somerset and Devonshire,

The Queen Margaret and her son went from whence she landed to an Abbey near by called Cerne,[3] and all the lords and the remenaunt (*rest*) of the fellowship with them. Thither came unto them Edmond, called Duke of Somerset, Thomas Courtney, called the Earl of Devonshire, with others, and welcomed them into England; comforted them, and put them in good hope, that, albeit they had lost one field, whereof the Queen had knowledge the same day, Monday, the fifthteenth day of April, and was therefore right heavy and sorry, yet it was to think that they should have right good speed, and that for that loss, their party was never the feebler, but rather stronger; and that they doubted nothing, but that they should assemble so great puissance of people, in divers parts of England, truly assured unto their party, that it should not (*any*) more lie in the King's power to resist them; and in that country they would begin. And so, forthwith they sent all about in Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and part of Wiltshire, for to make ready and raise the people by a certain day, such algates (*always*) as the said lords, and their partakers, before that had greatly laboured to that intent, preparing the country by all means to them possible. And, for that they would gather and raise up the power of Devonshire and Cornwall, they drew from thence more westwards to the city of Exeter, moving Edward, called Prince, and his mother the Queen, to do

who persuade her to proceed to Exeter, with Prince Edward,

[3] Hall's account, in which he is followed by most of our Historians, says, the Queen took sanctuary at Beaulieu. His highly wrought description of her despondency and behaviour there, is of course an agreeable fiction, and nothing else.

the same, trusting that their presence—[showing] in the country should cause much more, and the sooner, the people to come to their help and assistance. A.D. 1471.

At Exeter they sent for Sir John Arundel, Sir Hugh Courtney, and many others on whom they had any trust, and, in substance, they raised the whole might of Cornwall, and Devonshire, and so, with great people,[4] they departed out of Exeter, and took the right way to Glastonbury, and, from thence to the city of Bath, whither they came the (20*th*) day of April; and, as they went, they gathered the able men of all those parts. The country had been so long laboured before by the Earl of Warwick, and such, as he for that cause sent thither to move them to take King Henry's part, and, now [of late] (*again*) they were also sore laboured for the same intent, and thereunto the more lightly enduced, by Edmond, called Duke of Somerset, and Thomas Courtney, called the Earl of Devonshire, for that they reputed them old inheritors of that country. and thence to Glastonbury and Bath.

The King, being at London, and having knowledge of all this their demeaning from time to time, anon purveyed for the relieving of his sick and hurt men, that had been with him at Barnet field, (which were right many in number, what (*with those*) left at London, and what (*with those*) in the country) and sent to all parts Edward's preparations to defeat Queen Margaret's plans.

[4] The account here given by the Yorkist historian differs from that chronicled by Hall and Holinshed. According to these authorities, "the Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, with a few attendants were escorted to Bath, whilst the leaders of the Lancastrian party separated to collect their forces; which they did with so much success, that in less than ten days they counted an army of 40,000 men."—(*Henry*, vol. ix. p. 221.) "The suddenness wherewith all these lords levied or assembled their troops, would be most surprising, if, in the first place, the astonishing effects usually produced by hatred and revenge, especially in Civil Wars, were not considered. Secondly, it must be remembered, that the remains of the Earl of Warwick's army having dispersed themselves after the Battle of Barnet, wanted only a leader to head them. Lastly, as it was but a few days since the battle, it was not yet known how the conqueror would behave to the vanquished. So most having greater reason to expect severity than mercy, chose rather to venture again their lives in battle, than run the risk of dying on the gibbet and scaffold."—(*Rapin*, vol. v. p. 75.)

A.D. 1471. to get him fresh men, and, incontinent, prepared all things that were thought behoveful for a new field; which he saw was imminent, and coming on. So purveyed he artillery, and ordinance guns, and other (*things*) for the field (*in*) great plenty.[5] And Friday, the nineteenth day of April, he departed out of London, and went to Windsor there to thank and honour God, and Saint George; where he kept also the feast of Saint George, tarrying somewhat the longer there, for that he had commanded all the people, and those would serve him in this journey, to draw unto him thither, and from thence such way as should happen him (*to*) take towards his enemies. And, for so much as they at that season were in an angle of the land, and needs they must take

He quits London April 19, 1471, for Windsor.

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[5] The King's army was well supplied with arms and ammunition, whilst the Queen's adherents were in the utmost want of the necessary munitions of war. Hence their anxiety to join the Earl of Pembroke on the other side of the Severn, before coming to close quarters with Edward's troops. The following curious letter, preserved in the 2nd volume of Fenn's collection, and supposed to have been written by the great Earl of Oxford, about this period, shows the extreme caution used by the Lancastrian Leaders after the Battle of Barnet, by employing privy tokens, lest by the use of the name only their supplies of arms and money should be fraudulently obtained. "Right reverend and worshipful Lady, I commend me to you, letting you weet that I am in great heaviness at the making of this letter; but thanked be God! I am escaped myself, and suddenly departed from my men; for I understand my chaplain would have betrayed me; and if he come into the country, let him be made sure, etc.

"Also ye shall give credence to the bringer of this letter, and I beseech you to reward him to his costs; for I was not in power at the making of this letter to give him, but as I was put in trust by favour of strange people, etc. Also you shall send me in all haste, all the ready money that ye can make; and as many of my men, as can come well horsed, and that they come in diverse parcels. Also that my best horses be sent with my steel saddles, and bid the yeoman of the horse, cover them with leather.

"Also ye shall send to my mother, and let her weet of this letter, and pray her of her blessing, and bid her send me my casket by this token; '*that she hath the key thereof, but it is broken.*' Also ye shall send to the Prior of Thetford, and bid him send me the sum of gold, that he said that I should have; also say to him by this token; '*that I shewed him the first privy seal.*' Also let Paston, Felbrig and Brews come to me. Also ye shall deliver the bringer of this letter an horse, saddle and bridle. Also ye shall be of good cheer, and take no thought, for I shall bring my purpose about now by the Grace of God, Who have you in keeping. April 1471."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 69–71.)

one of the two ways; that is to say, either to come straight to Salisbury, and so that way towards London, or else, along by the sea-coast into Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, and so to London, to make in the way their people the more in number; or else, they, not thinking themselves to be of puissance likely to have or do with the King, and therefore, peradventure, would draw northwards into Lancashire, and Cheshire, trusting also to have in their way the assistance of Welshmen, by the means of Jasper, called Earl of Pembroke, which, for that cause, had been before sent into the country of Wales to array them, and make them ready to assist that party at their coming; for which considerations the King caused great diligence to be done by means of spies, and by them he had knowledge from time to time of their purposes in that behalf. If they would have taken eastwards their way, his intent was to encounter them as soon as he might, and the further from London that should be to him possible, (for the intent that they should assemble no might out of any country but where they then were;) but, for so much as he understood well they took the other way towards northwest, he hastened [him] with his host, all that he might, upon the purpose that he had taken to stop them their way and passage into those parts, whereunto their desire was to go, and to make them the more mighty, which passage, of likelihood, either must be at Gloucester, or else at Tewkesbury, or further off at Worcester. And, algates (*on all sides*) the King lay so, that, would they or no, he needs should now encounter them, or stop them, and put them back. They, in like wise, thinking by their wisdom that such was, or of convenience must be, the purpose of the King's party in that behalf, (for which cause and purpose they sent their out-riders straight from Exeter to Shaftesbury, and afterwards to Salisbury,) and took them (*selves*) the straight way to Taunton, and to Glastonbury, to Wells and there abouts, hovering in

A.D. 1471.

Edward's judicious arrangements for intercepting the Queen's forces,

at Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Worcester.

Margaret sends emissaries to Shaftesbury, Salisbury, Taunton, Glastonbury and Wells, to mislead

the King, and to Yeovil and Bruton. A.D. 1471.

the country. From whence, another time, they sent their out-riders to a town, called Yeovil, and to a town, called Bruton, to make men to understand, that they would have drawn towards Reading, and, by Berkshire, and Oxfordshire, have drawn towards London; or else, fallen upon the King at some great advantage. Such manner (*of*) sending, 'nathless, served them of two things, one was to call and raise the people to make towards them for their help out of all those parts; another was, to have abused (*deceived*) the King in his approaching towards them; but, thanked be God, he was not hereof unadvertized, but by good, and 'said, advice, purveyed for every way as may appear in telling forth his progress from Windsor towards them; from whence he departed the Wednesday, the morning after Saint George's day, the twenty-third of April, so keeping his journey, that he came to Abingdon[6] the Saturday next, the twenty-seventh day; (where he was the Sunday) and on the Monday at Cirencester; where he had certain tidings that they would (*be*) on Tuesday next at Bath, (as so they were;) and that on the morn next, the Wednesday,

Edward leaves Windsor, April 23rd, 1471, by Abingdon (*Ap.* 27), Cirencester (*Ap.* 29),

[6] From Abingdon Edward issued a proclamation dated April 27th, setting forth, that his title to the crown was unquestionable! first, by reason; secondly, by authority of parliament; thirdly, by his victories, and particularly the last, wherein the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquis of Montague were slain. That notwithstanding these three most firm foundations, namely, reason, parliamentary authority, and victory, sundry persons had taken up arms against him: but to avoid the effusion of more blood, he had thought proper to give his people a list of the names of those persons, who were pronounced traitors and rebels, that their encouragers might not complain, if any mischief befel them. The persons proscribed were: Margaret, styling herself Queen of England; Edward, her son; the Duke of Exeter; the Duke of Somerset; John, Earl of Oxford; John Courtney, Earl of Devonshire; William, Viscount de Beaumont; John Beaufort, Brother to the Duke of Somerset; Hugh Courtney, with eleven others. (See *Rymer*, vol. xi. p. 709.) April the 27th was the King's birthday, if "*born in the year* 1442, *on that day, at* 45 *minutes past* 4 *o'clock, p. m. at Rouen.*" (See *Hearne's Liber Niger, etc.* vol. ii. p. 525.) In the Fragment, attributed to a member of the Howard family, the year of his birth is given as 1440. (See page 1 *of the present volume;*) and his contemporary annalist says: "1442, Edward, second son and heir of Richard, Duke of York, was born on the 28th of April, two hours after midnight."—(*William Wyrcester*, p. 462.)

they would come on straight towards the King's battle. A.D. 1471. For which cause, and for that he would see, and set his people in array, he drove all the people out of the town, and lodged him (*self*) and his host that night in the fields, three miles out of the town. And on the morrow, he (having no certain tidings of their coming forward) went to Malmesbury, seeking upon them. And there had he knowledge, that they, understanding his approaching and marching near to them, had left (*changed*) their purpose of giving battle, and turned aside-hand, and went to Bristol, a good and strong walled town, where they were greatly refreshed and relieved, by such as were the King's rebels in that town, of money, men, and artillery; wherethrough they took new courage, the Thursday after, to take the field, and give the King battle; for which intent they had sent out-riders to a town nine miles from Bristol, called Sodbury; and, a mile towards the King, they appointed a ground for their field at a place called Sodbury Hill. The King, hearing this, the same Thursday, (*the*) first day of May, with all his host in array, and fair ordinance, came towards the place by them appointed for their field. The enemies, also, advanced them forth the same day out of Bristol, (making semblance as though they would have come straight to the place appointed,) but, having knowledge of the King's approaching, they left that way, albeit their harbingers were come before them as far as Sodbury town, where they distressed certain of the King's party, (five or six, such as negligently pressed so far forwards, dreading no danger, but only intending to have purveyed there their master's lodgings,) and so they changed their said purpose, and took their way straight to Berkeley, travelling all that night, and from thence towards the town of Gloucester. The King, the same Thursday, soon after noon came near to the same ground, called Sodbury Hill, and, not having any certainty of his enemies sent his scourers all about in the country,

and thence to Malmesbury (*Ap.* 30).

The Queen retires to Bristol.

Edward at Sodbury (*May* 1).

The Queen retires to Berkeley, and thence to Gloucester.

A.D. 1471. trusting by them to have wist (*known*) where they had been. About that place was a great and a fair large plain, called a Wold, and doubtful it was for to pass further, so he might hear somewhat of them supposing that they were right near, as so they might well have been, if they had kept forth the way they took out of Bristol. And, when he could not hear any certainty of them, he advanced forwards his whole battle, and lodged his vaward (*vanguard*) beyond the hill, in a valley towards the town of Sodbury; and lodged himself with the remainder of his host at the selfe (*same*) hill, called Sodbury Hill. Early in the morning, soon after 3 o'clock, the King had certain tidings, that they had taken their way by Berkely towards Gloucester, as so they took (*their way*) indeed. Whereupon he took advice of his council of that he had to do for the stopping of their ways, at two passages afore named by Gloucester, or else by Tewkesbury; and first he purveyed (*provided*) for Gloucester, and sent thither certain servants of his own to Richard Beauchamp,[7] son and heir to the Lord Beauchamp, (to whom afore he had committed the rule and governance of the town and castle of Gloucester,) commanding him to keep the town and castle for the King; and that he, with such help as he might have, should defend the same against them, in case they would in any wise assail them, as it was supposed they so would do that same afternoon; letting them wete (*know*) that he would have good espy upon them if they so did. And, if he might know that they so did, he promised to come (*to*) their rescue and comfort. With this, the King's message, they were well received at Gloucester, and the town and castle put in sure and safe keeping of the said Richard, and the said King's servants. Which message was sent and done in right good season; for certain it is, the King's enemies were put in sure hope, and determined to have

Edward instructs Richard Beauchamp to defend Gloucester against the Queen.

[7] Richard, son of Lord Beauchamp, of Powkey.

entered the town, and either (*to*) have kept it against the King, or at the least (*to*) have passed through the town into other countries, where they thought (*to*) have been mightily assisted, as well with Welshmen, which they deemed should have fallen to them in those parts in the company of Jasper, called Earl of Pembroke, as also for to have gotten into their company by that way-taking great number of men of Lancashire, and Cheshire, upon whom they much trusted. For which causes they had greatly travelled their people all that night and morning; upon the Friday [to the] about ten ôclock they were come before Gloucester, where their intent was utterly denied them by Richard Beauchamp, and others of the King's servants, that, for that cause, the King had sent thither, notwithstanding many of the inhabitants of that town were greatly disposed towards them, as they had certain knowledge. Of this demeaning they took right great displeasure, and made great menaces, and pretended as though they would have assaulted the town, and won it upon them; but, as well those that kept the town, as the said enemies, that so pretended, knew well that the King with a mighty puissance was near to them; and, if any affray had there been made, he might soon have been upon them, and taken upon them right great advantage; wherefore, they, in the town, nothing doubted, and they, without, durst not for fear, begin any such work; and therefore, they shortly took their conclusion for to go the next way to Tewkesbury, whither they came the same day about four (*in the*) afternoon. By which time they had so travelled their host that night and day, that they were right weary for travelling; for by that time they had travelled thirty-six long miles, in a foul country, all in lanes and strong ways, betwixt woods, without any good refreshing. And, for as much as the greater part of their host were footmen, the other part of the host, when they were come to Tewkesbury, could (*not*) nor might have laboured any further, but

A.D. 1471.

Who accordingly closes the gates against her.

Her troops, greatly distressed with a 36 miles march, arrive at Tewkesbury, May 3.

A.D. 1471. (*only*) if they would wilfully have forsaken, and left their footmen behind them; and, (*added*) thereto, themselves that were horsemen were right weary of that journey, as (*al*) so were their horses. So, whether it were of their election, and good will, or no, but that they were verily compelled to (*a*) bide by two causes; one was for weariness of their people, which they supposed not their people would have any longer endured; another, for they knew well that the King ever approached towards them near and near, ever ready, in good array and ordinance, to have pursued and fallen upon them, if they would any further have gone, and peradventure to their most disadvantage. They therefore determined to abide there the adventure,[8] that God would send them, in the quarrel they had taken in hand. And for that intent the same night they pitched them (*selves*) in a field, in a close even at the town's end; the town and the abbey at their backs; before them, and upon every hand of them, foul lanes, and deep dykes, and many hedges, with hills and valleys;—a right evil place to approach, as could well have been devised.

The Lancastrian position described.

The King, the same morning, the Friday, early, advanced his banners, and divided his whole host in three battles, and sent before him his fore (*out*) riders, and scourers on every side (*of*) him; and so in fair array, and ordinance, he took his way through the champagne country, called Cotswold,[9] travelling all his people, whereof were more than three thousand footmen, that Friday, which was right-an hot day, thirty miles and

Edward crosses Cotswold plains, May 3rd.

[8] It was evidently the policy of the Lancastrians not to hazard an engagement till they were joined by the Earl of Pembroke. Margaret, who through all her previous campaigns had borne up against adversity, could not overcome the fears of a mother. She wished to place the Severn betwixt the rival armies; but in the exhausted state of her troops and the near proximity of Edward, it was found impracticable to accomplish this; as before the entire army could have passed, the enemy would have had it in his power to attack them, when certain destruction would have awaited those who were left behind.

[9] Edward had crossed this plain on his way to London in 1461.—(See p. 7.)

more; (*in*) which his people might not find, in all the way, horse-meat, nor man's-meat, nor so much as drink for their horses, save in one little brook, where was full little relief, it was so soon troubled with the carriages, that had passed it. And all that day was evermore the King's host within five or six miles of his enemies;—he in plain country, and they amongst woods, having always good espials upon them. So, continuing that journey till he came with all his host to a village called Cheltenham, but five miles from Tewkesbury, (where the King had certain knowledge, that but little before his coming thither, his enemies were come to Tewkesbury, and there were taking a field, wherein they purposed to abide, and deliver him battle.) Whereupon the King made no longer tarrying, but a little comforted himself, and his people, with such meat and drink as he had deemed to be carried with him, for victualing of his host; and incontinent set forth towards his enemies, and took the field, and lodged himself, and all his host, within three miles of them. Upon the morrow following, Saturday, the fourth day of May, (*King Edward*) appareled himself, and set all his host in good array; ordained three wards;[10] displayed his banners; did blow up the trumpets; committed his cause and quarrel to Almighty God,

A.D. 1471.

Arrives at Cheltenham, May 3rd.

Battle of Tewkesbury, May 4th, 1471.

[10] Edward's army was drawn up in three lines; the one commanded by his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester; the second by himself and the Duke of Clarence; and the rear by the Marquis of Dorset and the Lord Hastings. The Queen's forces were likewise ranged in three bodies; the first commanded by the Duke of Somerset and Lord John Beaufort; the second by the Prince of Wales, the Lords Wenlock and St. John; and the third by the Earl of Devonshire. No position could have been better chosen than that of the Duke of Somerset; and could he but have remained entirely on the defensive till the arrival of the Earl of Pembroke, the result of that battle would probably have placed Henry again on his throne. That the Lancastrians anticipated such a result is evident from a letter of Sir John Paston to his mother, dated April 30th, 1471. "With God's grace it shall not be long to or than (*before*) my wrongs and other men's shall be redressed, for the world was never so like to be ours as it is now. I thank God I am whole of my sickness, and trust to be clean whole of all my hurts within a sev'night at the farthest, by which time I trust to have other tidings; and those tidings once had, I trust not to be long out of Norfolk."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 7.)

A.D. 1471. to our most blessed Lady his Mother, Virgin Mary, the glorious Martyr, Saint George, and all the Saints; and advanced directly upon his enemies approaching to their field, which was in a marvellous strong ground strongly pitched, full difficult to be assailed. Nevertheless the King's ordinance was so conveniently laid before them, and his vanguard so sore oppressed them, with shot of arrows, that they gave them right-a-sharp shower. Also they did again-ward to them, both with shot of arrows, and guns, whereof nevertheless they had not so great plenty, as had the King. In the front of their field were so (*such*) evil lanes, and deep dykes, so many hedges, trees, and bushes, that it was right hard to approach them near, and come to hands; but Edmond, called Duke of Somerset, having that day the van, whether it were, for that he and his fellowship were sore annoyed in the place where they were, as well with gun-shot, as with shot of arrows, which they neither would nor durst abide; or else, of great heart and courage, knightly and manly advanced himself with his fellowship, somewhat aside-hand the King's van; and, by certain paths and ways therefore before purveyed, and to the King's party unknown, he departed out of the field, passed a lane, and came into a fair place, or close, even before the King, where he was embattled; and from the hill, that was in one of the closes, he set right fiercely upon the end of the King's battle. The King full manly set forth even upon them, entered and won the dyke, and hedge, upon them, into the close, and, with great violence put them up towards the hill, and so (*did*) also, the king's vanguard in the rule of the Duke of Gloucester.

The Duke of Somerset's charge.

Here it is to be remembered, how that, when the King was coming before their field,[11] or he set upon them, he

[11] "The local memorials of this very decisive battle are but few. The principal scenes of the action are the meadow, which has since received the appellation of the "Bloody Meadow," (*and is the*

considered, that upon the right hand of their field there was a park, and therein much wood, and he, thinking to purvey (*provide*) a remedy in case his said enemies had laid any 'bushment (*ambush*) in that wood of horsemen, he chose out of his fellowship two hundred spears, and set them in a plump,[12] together, near a quarter of a mile from the field, giving them charge to have good eye upon that corner of the wood, if case that any need were, [and] to put them (*selves*) in devoir (*service;*) and, if they saw none such, (*then*) as they thought most behoveful for time and space, to employ themselves in the best wise as they could;—which provision came as well to point at this time of the battle, as could well have been devised; for the said spears of the King's party seeing no likelihood of any 'bushment in the said wood-corner, (seeing also good opportunity to employ themselves well) came and broke on, all at once, upon the Duke of Somerset, and his vanguard, aside-hand, unadvised whereof, they seeing the King gave them enough to do before them, were greatly dismayed and abashed; and so took [them] to flight into the park, and into the meadow that was near, and into lanes, and dykes, where they best hoped to escape the danger; of whom nevertheless, many were distressed, taken, and slain. And, even at this point of their flight, the King courageously set upon that other field, where was chief, Edward, called Prince, and in (*a*) short while put him to discomfiture and flight, and so fell in the chase of them, that many of them were slain, and namely at a mill in the meadow, fast by the town, were many drowned. Many ran to-

A.D. 1471.

Edward's foresight turns the tide of victory.

The Duke of Somerset's troops give way.

The Prince of Wales discomfited.

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close mentioned in the text,) and the Vineyard. The former lies between two gently descending banks, about half a mile south-west of the town, and was the spot where the slaughter was greatest. The latter was the place where Queen Margaret lay, and where some intrenchments are still to be traced."—(*Dyde's Tewkesbury.*)

[12] "Such as were chief officers revolted by plumpes."—*Golding;* quoted by Richardson as authority for interpreting the word *plump*, as *mass*.

A.D. 1471. wards the town, many to the church, to the abbey, and else where as they best might.

In the winning of the field such as abode handstrokes were slain incontinent. Edward, called Prince, was taken fleeing to the town [wards,] and slain in the field.[13] There was also slain Thomas, called the Earl of Devonshire; John of Somerset, called Marquis Dorset; Lord Wenlock, with many others in great number.

Death of the Prince of Wales, E. of Devonshire, M. Dorset and Lord Wenlock.

Thus this done, and with God's might achieved, the King took the right way to the abbey, there to give unto Almighty God laud and thanks for the victory, that of his mercy he had that day granted, and given unto him; where he was received with procession, and so conveyed through the church and the quire to the high Altar, with great devotion praising God, and yielding unto Him convenient laud. And, when there were fled into the said church many of his rebels, in great number, (——) or more, (hoping there to have been relieved, and saved from bodily harm) he gave them all his free pardon; albeit there neither was, nor had [not] at any time been granted, any franchise to that place for any offenders against their prince having recourse thither; but that it had been lawful to the King to have commanded them to have been drawn out of the church, and (*to have*) had [done] them [to be] executed as his traitors, if so had been his pleasure; but, at the reverence of the Blessed Trinity, the most Holy Virgin

The King gives thanks in the Abbey.

Pardons those who sought sanctuary.

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[13] The manner of the death of Edward, Prince of Wales, has, like that of his father (see note [21]) always been a point of dispute with historians. The Lancastrian writers either state boldly, or hint sufficiently intelligibly, that he was murdered after the battle. There are two sides to every question; but the evidence of the House of York having reached us only through the hands of its rival, (with the exception of our present fragment, thus strangely brought to light after the lapse of ages,) it is necessary to weigh well the motives of both parties, to be enabled to judge correctly. Having nothing to add to the reasoning of the Earl of Orford, and Mr. Sharon Turner on this subject, the reader is referred to the "Historic Doubts" of the former; and the "History of the Middle Ages" of the latter, for the most satisfactory elucidation of this question.

Mary, and the holy martyr Saint George, by whose grace and help he had that day attained so noble a victory; and, at the same reverence, he granted the corpses of the said Edward, and others so slain in the field, or else where, to be buried there in church, or else where, (*as*) it pleased the servants, friends, or neighbours, without any quartering, or defouling their bodies, by setting up at any open place. A.D. 1471. The Prince of Wales and other slain decently interred.

This battle thus done and achieved, and the King's grace thus largely shewed, it was so that in the abbey, and other places of the town were found: Edmond, called Duke of Somerset,[14] the Prior of St. John's, called Sir John Longstrother, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Gervase of Clyston (*Clifton*) knights, squires, and other notable persons, [divers] which all (*at*) divers times were brought before the King's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and Constable of England; and the Duke of Norfolk, Marshal of England, their judges. And so were judged to death, in the midst of the town, Edmond, Duke of Somerset, and the said Prior of Saint John's, with many other gentles, that there were taken, and that, of long time, had provoked, and continued the great rebellion, that so long had endured in the land against the King and contarry to the weal of the Realm. The said Duke and others thus judged, were executed in the midst of the town upon a scaffold therefore made, beheaded every one, and without any other dismembering, or setting up, licensed to be buried. The Duke of Somerset, the Prior of St. John's, Sir Thomas Tresham, and Sir Jervase Clifton taken and beheaded.

All these things thus done, the Tuesday, the seventh day of May, the King departed from Tewkesbury towards his city of Worcester, and, on the way, he had certain knowledge, that Queen Margaret[15] was found not Edward proceeds to Worcester. Queen Margaret taken prisoner,

[14] "The Duke of Somerset, the Prior of St. John's, and many knights and gentlemen, were forcibly taken out of Sanctuary and executed at Tewkesbury." — (*England's Happiness*, p. 161.)

[15] The MS. says, "*that Quene Margarete was nat founden far from thens, in a powre religiows place.*"—"On prit avec la Reine, la Princesse de Galles, et la Duchesse de Clarence. La dernière

A.D. 1471. far from thence, in a poor religious place, where she had hid herself for the safety of her person, the Saturday, early in the morning, after her son Edward, called Prince, was gone to the field, for to withdraw herself from the adventure of the battle: of whom also he was assured that she should be at his commandment.

The King, being at Worcester, had certain knowledge also, that certain (*of*) his rebels of the north parts began to make commotions, and assemblies of people against him, in the quarrel of Henry, called King. For which cause he kept not the right way to London, as he had purposed, but, (intending to prepare a new fellowship against the said rebels in the north, and to be in a good strength of people, whatsoever should happen,) he determined himself to go to Coventry, as he so did the eleventh day of the said month, where he refreshed well, such as were left with him of his host, by the space of three days; and thither was brought unto him Queen Margaret. He forgot not to send from thence his messengers with writings, all about the countries near adjoining, to such in especiall as he trusted best, that they would do him service. Truth it is, whilst the King in all ways thus prepared a new army, came certain tidings unto him, how they of the north had heard the certainty of his great victories, and how that he disposed him (*self*) to come towards them, with a great army, and they, sore dreading his good speed and great fortunes, (not having any (*one*) of the Warwicks or Nevilles blood, unto whom they might have rested (*trusted*), as they

and brought to Edward at Coventry.

The news of the battle of Tewkesbury quells the rising in the north.

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fut rendue à son mari; les deux autres conduites à Londres. La généreuse Margueritte, resta encore six ans dans les prisons d'Edouard, jusqu'à ce que le Roi de Sicile, son père, dans un traité qu'il fit avec Louis XI. per lequel il lui céda la Provence, obligea ce Roi à payer la rançon de cette Princesse, qu'Edouard avoit fixée à 50000 Ecus. La Reine fut mise en liberté, elle ratifia le Traité de son père, et Louis lui assigna une pension modique, avec laquelle elle se retira à Angers, aussi grande dans son malheur par sa constance, que sur la Trône par sa vertu."—(*Histoire des Deux Roses*, p. 219.) The Tewkesbury Chronicle, (Harl. MSS, No. 545, p. 102,) also says the Lady Anne was taken with the Queen.

had done before;) knowing, also for certainty, that the A.D. 1471.
Earl of Northumberland was nothing of their party but that he would resist and withstand them at his uttermost power, utterly taking part with the King, and his quarrel; the chieftains of them that were maliciously disposed, and (*who*) for evil intent as above, had communed and begun to assemble the people, anon upon this knowledge and considerations, they withdrew them (*selves*) from any further proceeding to (*wards*) their said rebellion, as folks not likely to maintain their false quarrel and party. They left their bands and companies, and divers of them made menes (*intercession*) to the Earl of Northumberland, beseeching him to be (*a*) good meane (*mediator*) to the King, for his grace and pardon. Some of the scourers were taken, and put in ward. The city of York, and other good towns, and countries lowly submitting themselves and (*giving*) then to the King their due obedience. And so, by the fourteenth day of May, it was known clearly by such as were sent unto the King from the Earl of Northumberland, from the city of York, and other divers places in the north, that there was no rebellion in all the north begun, but that it was so pacified, that it neither might, nor should, annoy the King in any wise. Wherefore it was to him thought, and to all his council, that for to go into the north for any pacification or punishment of such persons, it was not needful, as at that time; and so it was most clearly declared the same day by the Earl of Northumberland, (who came straight to the King at Coventry, out of the north country,) at his departing well assured that the country was in good and sure tranquillity, without any commotions or unlawful gatherings. Which Earl came not accompanied greatly, but with a few folks, and not arrayed in (*the*) manner of war; for he had no manner (*of*) knowledge, but that the King, after this his great victories achieved, should have good peace, every where in his realm. But it was not so, for the King

York and other towns submit.

A.D. 1471. had knowledge, before that he came to Coventry, by letters sent him by lords of his blood, being at London this season, that the Bastard Falconbridge,[16] (which, a little before that, had been sent to the sea by the Earl of Warwick, and had distressed many merchant-ships of Portugal, and taken the ships and goods to himself, in breach of the amity that of long time had been betwixt the realms of England and Portugal,) he had called unto him, and to his fellowship, great parties and numbers of mariners, out of every part and port of England, and many other traitors and misgoverned men, of every country of England, and also other countries, that had great courage to attend to theft and robbery. It was shewed the King, that daily his number drew greater and greater, and that he was gone to Calais, and brought many men with him from thence into Kent, where he began to gather his people in great number, intending, by likelihood, to do some great mischievous deeds. After the King was at Coventry, he had daily messages from the Lords at London, how that the Bastard had assembled great (*numbers of*) people, and, both by land (*with*) many thousands, and by water with all his ships full of people, he came before London, thinking to rob and spoil, and do all manner of mischief; and thereto many of the country of Kent[17] were assenting, and came with their good will, as people ready to be applicable to such seditious commotions. Others of (*the*) Kentish people, that would right fain have sat still at home, and not to have run into the danger of such rebellion, (by force and violence of such riotous people, as were of the

The Bastard Falconbridge's piracies.

He lands in Kent;

comes to London, May 12th, 1471;

joined by the Kentish men;

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[16] Thomas Neville, known by the name of the Bastard of Falconbridge, natural son of the Lord Falconbridge, had been made Vice-Admiral of the Channel, by the Earl of Warwick, on the restoration of Henry VI. On his submission to Edward the Fourth at Sandwich he was knighted, and re-instated in his office of Vice-Admiral. Edward's policy was to get him quietly in his power, and shortly after he was attainted of treason and beheaded.

[17] Holinshed says his troops consisted of Essex men, (p. 1341).

said Bastard's company, for fear of death, and other great menaces, and threatenings,) were compelled some to go with the Bastard in their persons, such 'specially as were able in person, if they had array, and might not wage to such as would go; they were compelled, by like force, to lend them their array and harness; and such as were unharnessed, aged, and unable, and of honour, they were compelled to send men waged, or to give money wherewith to wage (*pay*) men to go to the said Bastard's company. So that right in a short time the said Bastard, and his fellowship, had assembled to the number of sixteen or seventeen thousand men, as they accounted themselves. Which came before London the twelfth day of May, in the quarrel of King Henry, whom they said they would have out of the Tower of London, as they pretended. And, for that cause, they desired the citizens of London that they might have free entry into the city, where first their intention was to have with them the said Henry, and after to pass peaceably through the city, as they said, without any grievance to be done to any person; upon the intent from thence to go towards the King, wheresoever they might find him, him to destroy and all his partakers, in the quarrel of the said Henry, if they might have of him the overhand.

A.D. 1471.

and declares for Henry VI.

But, so it was, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and other officers, and citizens of London denied them their entry. As this was in doing, over came from London fresh tidings to the King, from the Lords, and the citizens, which with right great instance, moved the King in all possible haste to approach, and come to the city, to the defence of the Queen, then being in the Tower of London, my Lord Prince, and my Ladies, his daughters, and of the Lords and of the City, which, as they all wrote, was likely to stand in the greatest jeopardy, that ever they (*had*) stood (*in*). In consideration [had for] that great numbers of the persons within the city were rather disposed to have helped, to have such mischiefs

The citizens deny him entrance.

A.D. 1471. wrought, than to defend it: some, for (*because*) they were maliciously disposed, and were in their hearts partial to the Earl of Warwick's quarrel, and to the party of Henry wherefore (*for whom*) were many; some for they were poor; some men servants, men 'prentises, which would have been right glad of a common robbery, to the intent, they might largely have put their hands in rich men's coffers.

Edward IV. dispatches 1500 men from Coventry,

These manner of writings moved the King greatly to haste him thitherwards; but it was behoveful, before that he came there, he were furnished of as great or greater host, than he had had at any time, since his coming into the land; nevertheless, for that such army might not be prepared so soon as he would, the said fourteenth day of May, he appointed a notable, and a well chosen fellowship out of his host, and sent them unto the city of London before his coming, to the number of fifteen hundred men, well beseen (*selected,*) for the comfort of the Queen, the Lords, and the citizens. And himself departed out of Coventry towards London the sixteenth day of May.

and follows himself, May 16th.

Here it is to be remembered, that, when the Bastard and his fellowship might not purchase of the Mayor, and Citizens of London the overture (*the throwing open*) of the said city, for their passage through as above, neither for their promises, nor for great threatenings, and menacings, they made semblance to pass over (*the*) Thames, by Kingston Bridge, ten miles above London; and thither drew them the whole host, leaving all their ships, before St. Katherine's, a little from the Tower of London; pretending that they should come, and destroy Westminster, and then the suburbs of London, and essay the uttermost against the city, revenging that their entry was denied them, and their passage through the city, and so forth, with their whole multitude have passed through the countries against the King. But, so it was, as they were onwards in this journey the

Falconbridge marches to Kingston, leaving his fleet off St. Catherine's.

Bastard had certain knowledge,[18] that the King was greatly assisted with all the Lords of the Realm in substance, great number of noble men, and others in greater number than in any time he had had before; [they] greatly fearing his high courage and knighthood, and the great victories that God had sent him, they delayed with (*their*) wafar-wyne (*wayfaring*) and so returned again, and came before London, and shewed themselves in whole battle in Saint George's field. And that for divers considerations; for one, they doubted greatly the rencounter with the King; also, the multitude of them came rather for robbing than for revenging by way of battle; they doubted, also, to assail the city on that other side of (*the*) Thames, for likely it was, that in case they might not prevail, they of London should lightly stop them their ways homeward unto their country. And for to divide their host some upon the one side of London, and some upon the other side, they thought it folly, for so much as, with few folks, they might have broken the bridges after them, and with right few folks have kept and stopped their passage.

A.D. 1471.

He encamps in St. George's Fields.

CHAPTER III.

Here followeth how the said Bastard Falconbridge with his fellowship assailed the City of London, and set fire unto the Bridge of London, and burnt (*a*) *great part thereof, and unto other two gates of the said City, and how they were honourably rencounterd, and discom-*

[18] In Warkworth's Chronicle we have a curious key to this passage: "And, for as much, as fair words and promises make fools fain (*willing*), the Bastard commanded all his host to turn again." The King found the numbers of the Bastard's army might far exceed his own, and thus rob him of the fruits of his two great victories. He, therefore, had false information conveyed to his enemies, greatly exaggerating the strength of his followers.

A.D. 1471. *fited, and driven to the water, and so the City delivered from them.*

Falconbridge returns from Kingston to London,

The Bastard and his fellowship thus returned again from Kingston Bridge, before London, purposing to execute their great rancour and malice against the City of London, and that in all haste, to the intent they might have their prey before the King's coming, (which they thought not to abide,) and it to carry away in their ships, which were ready to attend for the same intent of robbery, but a mile or two from the said city.

and lays siege to the city, and fires the bridge.

Wherefore, incontinent, they assailed the city with great violence, with shot of guns, such as they had brought out of their ships in great number, and laid them on length (*along*) the water side, straight over against the city; wherewith they prevailed nothing, for the citizens agaynewarde (*towards them*) in divers places laid ordinance. Wherefore the Bastard provided another means to annoy and grieve the said City sore, and therefore ordained a great fellowship to set fire upon (*unto*) the bridge, and to burn the houses upon the bridge, and [through] thereby to make them (*selves*) an open way into the said city. An other great fellowship he set over the water with his ships, more than three thousand

Attacks Aldgate and Bishopsgate.

men, which were divided into two parties; one party went to Aldgate, meaning to have entered the city there, by assault; another party went to Bishopsgate, meaning to have entered there by another assault; where they shot guns and arrows into the city, and did much harm and hurt. And at the last set fire upon the gates, for to have burnt them, and so trusting to have entered at large. Their burning at the bridge profited them [of] nothing; albeit they burnt many houses

Sixty houses burnt on the bridge.

to the number of III^{xx} (*sixty*);—but the citizens had set such ordinance in their way, that though all the way had been open, it had been hard for them to have entered by that way, but upon their lives. The Mayor,

Aldermen, and worshipful citizens of the city were in good array, and set to every part, where was behoveful, great fellowship well ordered and ordained, for to withstand the malice of these aforesaid rebels. A.D. 1471.

To the citizens, and defence of the City, came the Earl of Essex, and many knights, squires, gentlemen, and yeomen, right well arrayed, which had right great diligence in ordering the citizens, and first to prepare and ordain for the defence and safety of the said city and people thereof, where it was necessary; and (*then*) prepared how and where they might best issue out upon them, and put them from their purpose. By which mixing of gentlemen and lords servants with the citizens in every part, the citizens were greatly encouraged to set sharply upon them with one whole intent, where else it had been likely they should not have willed to have done so much thereto as was done. For as it is aforesaid, great number of the city were there, that, with right good will, would (*that*) they had been suffered to have entered the city, to the intent to have fallen to mischief and robbery with them. And so, after continuing of much shot of guns and arrows a great while upon both parties, the Earl Rivers, that was with the Queen, in the Tower of London, gathered unto him a fellowship right well chosen and habiled (*able*) of four or five hundred men, and issued out at a postern upon them, and, even upon a point, came upon the Kentish men, being about the assaulting of Aldgate, and mightily laid upon them with arrows, and upon them in (*with*) hands, and so killed and took many of them, driving them from the same gate to the waterside. Yet nevertheless (*in*) three places fires were burning all at once. The Mayor, Aldermen, and many of the said city, were anon in their harness, and parted their fellowship into divers parties, as them thought most behoveful: but a great part of the citizens were at Aldgate, and with them many gentlemen and yeomen, which all made the

The Earl of Essex hastens to defend the city.

The Earl Rivers' sortie from the Tower.

Defeat of the rebels;

A.D. 1471. defence that they best might, and shot many guns and arrows among them; but for this the Kentish men spared (*ceased*) not to assail at both the gates, so that the said Lord and citizens determined in themselves to arredy (*array*) them (*selves*) in good array, and to issue out upon them in hands, and put them to flight and discomfiture. About three thousand, and more fell in (*took to*) the chase of them, and slew more than seven hundred of them. Many were taken and after (*wards*) hanged; the remainder went to the waterside, and took their boats, and went to their ships, and over to that other side again.

who retreat to Blackheath, May 16th, 17th, and 18th; These heinous traitors and robbers, the Bastard and his fellowship, seeing they could in nowise profit to their intents, by little and little, withdrew them (*selves*) to the Blackheath to a hill three miles from London, the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth day of May, there abiding by the space of three days; but, there abiding, they had certain knowledge that the King was coming with great puissance, whereof they greatly adrad (*had dread*), seeing that they might not have their prey of London, neither having hardies (*boldness*) to abide the King, and his puissance, they dispersed; they of

and disperse to Calais and elsewhere. Calais, to Calais, the soonest they could; such as were of other countries into theirs; many of Kent, to their houses; the mariners, and mischievous robbers, rebels and rioters with them, to their ships; and drew down to the sea coast with all their ships.

The King this season, well accompanied and mightily with great lords, and in substance all the noblemen of the land, with many other able men, well arrayed for the war, to the number of thirty thousand horsemen, came to the city of London, soon after the dispersing of the Kentish host, the twenty-first day of May, the Tuesday; where he was honourably received of all the people, the Mayor, Aldermen and many other worshipful men, Citizens of the said City. At the meeting of them the

King dubbed Knights, the Mayor, the Recorder, divers Aldermen, with other worshipful persons of the said City of London, which as had manly and honourably acquit (*ed*) themselves against the Bastard and his cruel host; honouring and rewarding them with the order of his good love and grace, for their true acquital, [and] as they had right well and truely deserved that time.[19] A.D. 1471. The King returns to London, May 21st, and knights the Mayor and Aldermen.

Here it is to be remembered, that from the time of Tewkesbury-field, where Edward, called Prince, was slain, then, and soon after, were taken and slain at the King's will, all the noblemen that came from beyond the sea with the said Edward, called Prince, and others also their part-takers as many as were of any might or puissance. Queen Margaret herself, (*was*) taken and brought to the King, and in every part of England, where any commotion was begun for King Henry's party, anon they were rebuked, so that it appeared to every man, at once, the said party was extinct, and repressed for ever, without any manner (*of*) hope of again quickening; utterly despaired (*deprived*) of any manner of hope or relief. The certainty of all which came to the knowledge of the said Henry, late called King, being in the Tower of London. Not having before that knowledge of the said matters, he took it to so great despite, ire, and indignation, that of pure displeasure, and melancholy, he died the twenty third day of the month of May.[20] Whom the Henry VI. dies of melancholy, May 23rd, 1471, "*or was murdered.*"

[19] "On the morrow that the King was come to London, for the good service that London had done to him, he made Knights of the Aldermen, Sir John Stockton, Sir Ralph Verney, Sir Richard Lee, Sir John Yonge, Sir William Taylor, Sir George Ireland, Sir John Stoker, Sir Matthew Phillipp, Sir William Hampton, Sir Thomas Stalbrooke, Sir John Crosby, Sir Thomas Urswick, Recorder of London."—(*Warkworth's Chronicle.*)

[20] The reader is here presented with the various accounts of the death of King Henry. "Also upon Ascension eve King Henry was brought from the Tower, through Cheape, unto St. Pauls upon a bier: and about the bier more glaives and staves, than torches; who was slain as it was said by the Duke of Gloucester; but how he was dead, thither he was brought dead, and in the church the corps stood all night; and on the morning he was conveyed to Chertsey, were he was buried."—(*London Chron. Cotton. Vitel.* A. XVI.)

"I say not that in this interval

A.D. 1471. King did (*order*) to be brought to the friars preachers at London, and there his funeral service done, to be carried by water to an Abbey upon Thames' Side, sixteen miles from London, called Chertsey, and there honourably interred.

The King leaves town

The King incontinent after his coming to London,

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of time the body of King Henry was found dead in the Tower of London: may God forgive, and give him time for repentance, who dared to place sacrilegious hands even on the Lord's anointed."—(*Croyland Continuator.*)

"Of the death of this prince diverse tales were told: but the most common fame went, that he was struck with a dagger by the hands of the Duke of Gloucester."—(*Fabyan, and Hardyng.*)

"And the same night that King Edward came to London, King Henry being in ward in prison in the Tower of London, was put to death, the 21st day of May, on a Tuesday night, between 11 and 12 of the clock, (being then at the Tower, the Duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward, and many others)."—(*Warkworth's Chronicle.*)

"Immediately after this battle the Duke of Gloucester either killed with his own hand, or caused to be murdered in his presence, in some spot apart, this good man, King Henry."—(*Commines.*)

In the Issue Rolls we find money paid to Hugh Price, on the 24th of June, for the Expenses of the Burial of Henry VI., for carrying him from the Tower to St. Pauls and from thence to Chertsey.—(*Devon's Introduction.*)

According to our text King Edward arrived in London on the 21st of May; Ascension eve was the 22nd, and Ascension day the 23rd. The King remained only one day in London, and then proceeded to Sandwich to suppress the revolt of Falconbridge. Henry, deposed and childless, a prisoner, and his party quite annihilated, was quite as likely to die of grief on hearing that the Queen Margaret was in Edward's power, and his son killed, as to have fallen by the hand of Richard; who by this gratuitous murder was not to reap any individual benefit, seeing that Edward had a large family of children. It is, however, quite in accordance with the spirit of that day to suppose that Henry was murdered, and not at all improbable by the connivance of his rival, who throughout this rapid campaign seems studiously to have sought the destruction of the leaders of the Lancastrian party, and to have spared their more lowly dependants. If the murder of King Henry, therefore, were countenanced by any member of the House of York, it was Edward himself, and not his brother, who was accessory before the fact; nor is it at all likely that the Duke of Gloucester would have become the instrument of his brother's cruelty. His defeat at the Battle of Bosworth Field, and the consequent usurpation of the throne by Henry VII. in 1485 (for even his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth in 1486 only made him consort to the Queen;) is the cause why the character of Richard the Third was blackened by all Lancastrian writers, during the reigns of the Tudor family. The authorities quoted give the 21st of May, whilst our text mentions distinctly the 23rd, as the day of Henry's death. He was in his fiftieth year, and the greatest benefits conferred by his reign were the foundation of Eton School and King's College, Cambridge.

tarried but one day, and went with his whole army, after his said traitors into Kent them to repress, in case they were in any place assembled, and for to let (*hinder*) them to assemble by any commotion to be made amongst them, where unto they heretofore have oftentimes been accustomed to do. But, truth it was, that they were dispersed as before (*said*), but the said Bastard Falconbridge, with great number of mariners, and many other mischievous men, called his soldiers, or men of war, went straight to Sandwich, and there kept the town with strength, and many great and small ships, about forty and seven, in the haven all under his rule. And, as soon as they understood the King and his host approached near unto them, the said Bastard sent unto him such means as best he could, humbly to sue for his grace and pardon, and them of his fellowship; and by appointment willed there to be delivered to the King's behoof all his ships, and became his true liegeman, with as straight (*a*) promise of true allegiance, as could be devised for them to be made, which, after deliberation taken in that part, for certain great considerations was granted. Wherefore the King sent thither his brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, to receive them in his name, and all the ships: as he so did the twenty sixth day of the same month, the King that time being at Canterbury. And thus, with the help of Almighty God, the most Glorious Virgin Mary, His Mother, and of Saint George, and of the Saints of Heaven, was begun, finished, and terminated, the reentry, and perfect recovery of the just title and right of our said Sovereign Lord, King Edward the Fourth, to his realm and crown of England, within the space of eleven weeks; in the which season, moienaunt (*owing to*) the help and grace of Almighty God, by his wisdom and polygive (*policy*), he escaped and passed many great perils, and dangers, and difficulties, wherein he had been; and by his full noble and knightly courage, hath obtained two right-great cruel and mortal battles;

A.D. 1471. in pursuit of the rebels,

who had taken possession of Sandwich.

They offer terms and are pardoned.

The King at Canterbury, May 26th.

A.D. 1471. put to flight and discomfiture divers great assemblies of his rebels, and riotous persons in many parts of his land; the which though all they also rigorously and maliciously disposed, as they might be, (*yet*) they were nevertheless so afraid and affeared of the very assured courage and manhood that resteth in the person of our said sovereign Lord, that they were, anon, as confused. Whereby it appeareth, and faithfully is believed, that with the help of Almighty God, which from his beginning hitherto hath not failed him, in (*a*) short time he shall appease his subjects through (*out*) all his realm; that peace and tranquility shall grow and multiply in the same, from day to day, to the honour and loving of Almighty God, the increase of his singular and famous renown, and to the great joy and consolation of his friends, allies, and well-willers, and to all his people, and to the great confusion of all his enemies, and evil willers.[21]

Here endeth the Arrival of King Edward the Fourth, Out of Master Fleetwood's book, Recorder of London.

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[21] "Tout se pacifia à sa vue, et il reconquit en vingt jours, ce Royaume perdu en onze."—(*Histoire des Deux Roses*, p. 217.)

THE CHRONICLE-HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

KING EDWARD THE FOURTH

FROM HIS ACCESSION IN 1461 TO THE SUPPRESSION OF LORD OXFORD'S REBELLION, 1473.

FROM DR. JOHN WARKWORTH'S MS. ADDITIONS TO CAXTON'S CHRONICLE.

(Preserved in St. Peter's College, Cambridge.)

ADVERTISEMENT.

In Leland's Collectanea, Vol. II. p. 499, first edition, 1715, are extracts "out of a Chronicle in St. Peter's College Library, Cambridge." This Chronicle is a MS. copy of Caxton's Chronicle of the Brute, with additions from the pen of Dr. John Warkworth, who was Master of St. Peter's College from 1473 to 1498; and who, from the register of donations, appears to have presented the volume to the Library, A.D. 1483. His additions, as a record of facts, though without strict attention to Chronology, deserve attention, as he notes down several minor occurrences, omitted by other writers, such as the appearance of the comet in 1472, the severe frost, &c.

Dr. Warkworth, besides his own autograph, had a duplicate, into which these additions were transcribed, and this is the volume from which the following narrative is taken. As it is probable that in Leland's time both MSS. were in existence, the text, as now given, has been carefully collated with his extracts, and all discrepancies pointed out. What has become of the original MS. is

not known; the transcript, however, is authenticated by having the autograph directions of the author prefixed, and which we have given as "*Monitum.*" Dr. Hunter, in the Appendix to the Report of the Record Commission, following the notice of Mr. Hartshorne, in his Book Rarities of the University of Cambridge, pointed out the existence of this curious volume, which has recently been given by Mr. Halliwell as his contribution to the Camden Society, in the original orthography. A few notes are added to our modernized text, to elucidate the discrepancies between the rival accounts, furnished by the partisans of York and Lancaster, amongst the latter of whom our author must claim a distinguished place.

WARKWORTH'S CHRONICLE OF KING EDWARD IV.

MONITUM.

As for all things that follow, refer them to my copy, in which is written a remanente (*residue*) like to this 'foresaid work, that is to wit, that at the coronation of the 'foresaid Edward, he created[1] and made Dukes, his

The Regnal year of Edward commenced March 5, 1461.

[1] These Creations took place as follows: — George, Duke of Clarence, 1461 — Richard, Duke of Gloucester, 1461 — John Neville, Lord Montacute, Earl of Northumberland, 1464, and Marquis of Montague, 1470—Humphrey (not William) Stafford, Baron Stafford of Southwick, 1461, and Earl of Devonshire, 1469—Sir William Herbert, Lord Herbert, 1461, and Earl of Pembroke, 1468, and lastly Earl of Huntingdon, 1479—Edmund de Grey, Lord Grey of Ruthyn, Earl of Kent, in 1465—Henry Bouchier, Earl of Eu, Earl of Essex, 1461—John Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, in 1470—Sir Walter (not Sir Thomas) Blount, Lord Mountjoy, 1465—Sir John Howard, Lord Howard, 1459, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, 1483—William Hastings, Lord Hastings, in 1461—Richard Woodville, Earl of Rivers, in 1466—John Dinham, Lord Dinham, 1466. Thus it will be seen that this paragraph is full of inaccuracies. The Chronicle, known as Hearne's Fragment, is far better authority, see p. 9. The only earldoms bestowed by the King at his coronation were conferred on Henry, Lord Bouchier, Earl of Eu

A.D. 1461. Peers created during the reign of Edward IV.

two brothers, the elder George, Duke of Clarence, and his younger brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester; and the Lord Montague, the Earl of Warwick's brother, the Earl of Northumberland; and one William Stafford, squire, Lord Stafford of Southwick; and Sir Herbert Lord Herbert, and after (*a while*) Lord Earl of Pembroke, and so the said Lord Stafford was made Earl of Devonshire; the Lord Gray Ruthyn, Earl of Kent; the Lord Bouchier, Earl of Essex; the Lord John of Buckingham, the Earl of Wiltshire; Sir Thomas Blount Knight, Lord Mount (*joy*); Sir John Howard, Lord Howard; William Hastings he made Lord Hastings, and great Chamberlain; and the Lord Rivers; Dinham squire, Lord Dinham; and worth as is before shewed, and others of gentlemen and yeomen he made Knights and squires, as they had deserved.

THE CHRONICLE.

Edward's first parliament attaints

And also the FIRST YEAR of his reign he ordained a parliament,[2] at which were attainted King Henry, and

in Normandy, who had married the King's aunt, the Dame Isabelle of York; and the Earldom of Kent, conferred on William Neville, Lord Falconbridge, in reward for his services at the Battle of Touton.

[2] "And here it is to be remarked that in this quarrel between the two families of York and Lancaster, the Parliament always took care to declare on the side of the Victor, because they never had the liberty of acting otherwise. They were not consulted till the question was already decided by arms; consequently it was in vain to allege acts of parliament to support the Rights either of the one house or the other." —(*Rapin's Acta Regia*, p. 283.)

"And in the parliament held at Westminster, on the * * * day of November were attainted of High Treason, those whose names follow: viz. King Henry VI; Queen Margaret; Edward, their son; Henry, Duke of Exeter; Henry, Duke of Somerset; Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire; Henry, late Earl of Northumberland; Jasper, Earl of Pembroke; Thomas, Lord de Roos; John, Lord Clifford; Robert, Lord Hungerford; Lionel, late Lord Welles; William, Viscount Beaumont; John, late Lord Neville; Thomas, Lord Grey of Rougemont; Ralph, late Lord Dacre; Thomas Neville; Thomas Manning, Clerk; John Whelpdale; John Lax; Father Robert Gaslee; John Preston; Humphrey, Lord Dacre, Knight; RalphBigot, Knight; James Luttrell, Kt.; Philipp Wentworth, Kt.; John Fortescue, Kt.; Baldwin Fulford, Kt.; Alexander Hody, Kt.; William Talboys, Kt.; Edmund Mountford, Kt.; Thomas

all others, that fled with him into Scotland, out of England; and for so much as he found, in time of need, great comfort in his Commoners, he ratified and confirmed all the franchises given to cities and towns etc. and granted to many cities and towns new franchises, more than was granted before, right largely, and made charters thereof to the intent to have the more good will and love in his land.

Henry VI. and his party, November, A.D. 1461.

Also Queen Margaret, Harry, Duke of Exeter, the Duke of Somerset, and other lords that fled (*from*) England, had kept certain castles in Northumberland, as Alnwick, Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, (*Nawarth*) and also Warkworth, which they had victualed and stuffed, both with Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Scotchmen; by

The castles in the north still hold out for Henry VI. and Margaret.

Tresham, Kt.; William Catesby, Kt.; W. Vaux, Kt.; Robert Balthorp, Kt.; W. Gascoigne, Kt.; Edmund Hampden, Kt.; Thos. Fynderne, Kt.; John Courtney, Kt.; Henry Lewis, Kt.; Richard Tempest, Kt.; W. Carr, Kt.; Thos. Fulforth, Kt.; Nich. Latimer, Kt.; Walter Nuttall, Kt.; Henry Cliff, Kt.; John Heron de Forde, Kt.; Roger Clifford, Kt.; Richard Tunstall, Kt.; Henry Belingham, Kt.; Richard Duckett, Kt.; W. Lee, Kt.; Robert Whittingham, Kt.; John Ormond, Kt.; William Mill, Kt.; Simon Hanys, Kt.; Roger Ward, Kt.; John Skidmore, Kt.; W. Harington, Kt.; W. Holland, Kt.; Thos. Everyngham, Kt.; Henry Roos, Kt. *Also:* Humphrey Neville, Squire; Giles Santlow, S.; Edward Ellesmere, S.; John Mervyn, S.; Thos. Phillipps, S.; Thomas Brampton, S.; John Audley, S.; Thomas Tonstall, S.; W. Tonstall, S.; Thos. Crayford, S.; John Sthakild, S.; Will. Joseph, S.; John Lynch, S.; Richard Waterton, S.; Hawkins Charnock, S.; John Rough, S.; Rob. Bolingham, S.; John Penycoke, S.; W. Grimsby, S. *Also:* Thomas Stanley, late of Carlisle, Gent.; Edward Thornborough, of the same, Gent.; Gawin Lamplow, Gent.; John Catmill, Gent.; W. Ferrer, Gent.; Thos. Whitwood, Gent.; John Mandeville, Gent.; Thos. Elwick, Gent.; W. Cailfere (*Calvert*), Gent.; W. Sampson, Gent.; W. Byfield, Gent.; Thos. Ormond, Gent. *Also:* Ant. Nutshell; John Wallis; W. Speak; Thos. Daniel; John Dowbiggin; Edward Digby; Rd. Kirkby; Thos. Danvers; Thos. Cornwall; Thos. Milkby; John Dawnson; Thos. Little; Henry Spencer; John Snoting; Thos. Sargenson; and 42 more, amounting in all to 153 persons."—(*William Wyrcester*, p. 490-92.)

"In the month of October Queen Margaret came from France with a fleet and 2000 warriors, and landed near Bamburgh in Northumberland, having with her Sir Piers de Bracy, Lord of Manpeny, and pitched her camp nearly, where she believed the whole country would rise up for her, which they, however, seeing the power of the Queen so small did not do. The Queen's troops, therefore, laid siege to Alnwick, which surrendered for want of victuals."—(*William Wyrcester*, p. 494.) See also: Hearne's Fragment, p. 13.

A.D. 1462. the which Castles they had the most part of all Northumberland. King Edward and his council, thinking and un-(*der*-)standing what hurt might happen thereof, made commissions to the south and west country, and had of them great money, with the which men made ready, and besieged the same castles, in the month of December, in the year aforesaid. And Sir Piers de Bracy,[3] Knight of France, and the best warrior of all that time, was in Scotland to help Queen Margaret.

Sir Piers de Bracy with 20,000 men from Scotland. When he knew that the castles were besieged he had twenty thousand of Scotchmen, and came towards Alnwick,[4] and all the other castles. And when King Edward's host had knowledge, that Sir Piers de Bracy, with the Scotchmen, were coming they removed from the siege, and were afraid; and the Scottish host supposed it had been done for some gain, and they were afraid, also they durst not come nigh the castle; for, an[d] (*if*) they had come on boldly, they might have taken and distressed all the lords and commoners, for they had lain there so long in the field, and were grieved with cold and rain, that they had no courage to fight etc.

The garrison retires, July 30, 1462. Never the lattere (*nevertheless,*) when they that were in the castle besieged, saw that the siege was withdrawn for fear, and the Scottish host afraid, they also came out of the castle and left [them] (*it*) open etc., and so afterwards King Edward's host entered into all the whole castle,[5] and kept it etc.

And after that, the castle of Bamburgh[6] was yielded

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[3] See Hearne's Fragment, p. 12, and note [11].

[4] "In the month of June the Lord Hastings, Sir Ralph Grey, and many others, laid siege to Alnwick Castle, where (*Sir*) William Talboys was Captain, and who surrendered it to them on condition, that the garrison should evacuate it in full array, with horses, goods, harness, etc. And it was given to the custody of Sir Ralph Grey."—(*William Wyrcester*, p. 493.)

[5] This was not in the first year, but July 30, 1462. The loose way in which Warkworth records these events of the first years of the Reign of Edward the Fourth would incline one to attach little value to his narrative; the subsequent portions are, however, both accurate and important.

[6] "And Nawarth Castle surrendered to the Lord Montacute. Also

to the King, by treaty and appointment, by Harry, Duke of Somerset, that kept it, and came into King Edward's grace, which granted to him a thousand marks by (*the*) year, whereof he was not paid; therefore he departed out of England after half (*a*) year into Scotland, etc. And so King Edward was possessed of all England, except a castle in North Wales, called Harlech, which Sir Richard Tunstal kept, the which was gotten afterwards by the Lord Herbert.

A.D. 1463. The Duke of Somerset submits.

Harlech Castle still holds out for Henry VI.

And in the THIRD YEAR[7] of the reign of King Edward, and anno Domini 1463, there was one fervent frost through (*out*) England, and snow, that men might go over the ice, and a fervent cold. And also there was holden a parliament at Westminster, in the which was granted to the King an aid, which was as much money as the fifteenth part of men's goods, and one half so much more,[8] whereof the people grudged sore.

Severe frost. A.D. 1463.

An aid granted to the King of 1-15 and 1-8 of a man's property.

Also the FOURTH YEAR of King Edward, the Earl of Warwick was sent into France, for a marriage for the King, for one fair lady, sister[9] [daughter] to the King of France, which was concluded by the Earl of Warwick. And, whilst the said Earl of Warwick was in France, the King was wedded to Elizabeth Gray, widow, (the which Sir John Gray that was her husband was slain at

A.D. 1464. The Earl of Warwick demands the Princess Bona in marriage for the King.

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the Lord de Dacres surrendered upon certain conditions to the Lord Montague."—(*Will. Wyrcester*, p. 493.)

"And the Castles of Bamburgh, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh were besieged in the month of December, and on Christmas-eve the said castles of Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh were surrendered to the King, upon these conditions: the safety of life and limb, and that Richard Percy should come into the Grace of King Edward and have the custody of the said castles. And at the same time the Duke of Somerset, Henry Lewis, and Sir Nicholas Latimer, Kt., with many others, came into King Edward's grace, and repossessed their territories." — (*William Wyrcester*, p. 495.)

[7] King Edward's Regnal year commenced on the fourth of March.—(*Halliwell.*)

[8] "An hole quingisme and disme."—(*Parl. Rolls*, v. p. 497.)

[9] The word *daughter* is placed over *sister* in the MS. with the ʌ (caret, or mark of omission). The Princess referred to is Bona of Savoy, Sister to the Queen of France. See Hearne's Fragment, p. 15, respecting this marriage.

A.D. 1464. The King marries Elizabeth Woodville, May 1, 1464.

York field,[10] in King Harry's party,) and the same Elizabeth was daughter to the Lord Rivers, and the wedding was privily (*solemnized*) in a secret place, the first day of May, the year above said. And when the Earl of Warwick came home, and heard thereof, then was he greatly displeased with the King, and after that arose great dissention, ever more and more between the King and him, for that and other (*causes*) etc. And then the King put out of the Chancellorship the Bishop of Exeter,[11] brother to the Earl of Warwick, and made the Bishop of Bath (*Robert Stillington*) Chancellor of England. After that the Earl of Warwick took (*to*) him in fee as many knights, squires, and gentlemen, as he might, to be strong; and King Edward did (*all*) that he might to (*en*) feeble the Earl's power.[12] And yet they were accorded divers times but they never loved together after. Also in the fourth year of the King Edward, the month of May, the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Roos, the Lord Molins, the Earl of Kyme, Sir Philip Wentworth, Sir Thomas Fynderne, gathered a great people of the north country. And Sir John Neville,[13] that time being Earl of Northumberland, with ten thousand men, came upon them, and there the commons fled, that were with them, and there the 'foresaid lords were taken, and afterwards beheaded.[14] But then the

The Seals taken from George Neville, Bishop of Exeter.

Somerset's Rebellion, May, 1464. Battle of Hexham, May 15.

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[10] Touton.—(*Leland.*) Also in this year, the 1st of May, the King wedded, Dame Elizabeth Gray, late wife unto the Lord Gray of Groby, and daughter to the Lord Rivers.—(*London Chron. MS. Cot. Vitell.* XVI. fol. 126[t].) See also: Hearne's Fragment, p. 15—17, and note [17].

[11] George Neville, see note [26], p. 57. Robert Stillington did not, however, receive the seals till June 8, 1468, previously to which Robert Kirkham was keeper.—(*J. G. Nichols.*)

[12] This statement seems at variance with the act passed in the same year, in which there is this peculiar clause: "that the said act be not prejudicial or hurtful unto Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick."—(*Parl. Rolls*, 4 *Edward IV.*)

[13] See Hearne's Fragment, p. 14, and also the curious document from a MS. in the College of Arms, quoted by Mr. Halliwell. "Neville, Earl of Northumberland. It was a little while."—(*Leland.*) See the curious document in the Introduction: "*Anno Edwardi IV. quarto, et Mensis Maii die xxvii. scil. die S. Trinitatis, etc.*"

[14] "On the 15th of May were

Lord Montague, the Earl of Warwick's brother, which the King had made Earl of Northumberland, was mighty and strong by the same, etc. And, for so much as the King and his counsel thought, that he would hold with his (*brother the*) Earl of Warwick, therefore the King and his counsel made the country to desire, that they might have the rightful heir, Percy,[15] son to Henry Percy, that was slain at York-Field, to be the Earl of Northumberland; and so it was done. And after this the King made Lord Montague, Marquis Montague, and made his son, Duke of Bedford, which should wed the princess, the King's eldest daughter, which by possibility should be King of England; and so he had many fair words, and no lordships, but always he promised he would do etc. (*Grant him Lordships.*)

A.D. 1464.

Restoration of Henry Percy to the title and estates of Northumberland.

Also the same year and the year of our Lord 1464 King Edward changed the coin of England,[16] by which he had great geting (*gain*); for he made of an old noble a royal, the which was commanded to go for ten shillings; nevertheless (*to*) the same royal was put 8d. of alloy, and so weighed 8d. more by delaying (*alloying or weakening*); and smote him into a new print. Also, he made of 3d. a groat, and also he (*made*) angels (*into*)

Edward tampers with the coin.

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beheaded at Hexham, the Duke of Somerset, Sir Edmund Fitzhugh, Bradshaw, Walter Hunt, Black Jack. On the 17th of May were beheaded at Newcastle (*on Tyne*) the Lord Hungerford, Lord Roos, Sir Thomas Fynderne, Edward de la Mere, Nicholas Massey. On the 18th of May at Medetham (?) were beheaded Sir Philipp Wentworth, William Pennington, Ward de Topcliffe, Oliver Wentworth, William Spiller, Thomas Hunt, (Footman to King Henry). On the 25th of May were beheaded at York Sir Thomas Hussey, Thos. Gosse, Robert Merfyn, Robert Water, (hall porter to Henry VI,) John Butler, Thomas Fenwick, Robert Cuckfield, William Bright, William Dawson, John Chapman. On the 28th of May, at York, were beheaded: John Elderbeck, Richard Cawer, John Roselle, Robert Conqueror." —(*MS. Arund. Coll. Arm.* V. folio 170 R.)

[15] Henry, Lord Percy, son and heir to Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, who was killed at the Battle of Touton. He was restored to his title and possessions after the battle of "*Losecote Field*," in 1470, upon which occasion Montague was created a Marquis.

[16] See Hearne's Fragment, p. 17.

A.D. 1464. nobles of 6s. 8d. and by divers coins to the great harm of the common people. Also the same year, King Harry was taken beside a house of religion, in Lancashire, by the means of a black monk of Abingdon,[17] in a wood called Cletherwood, beside Bungelley Hyppyngstones (*Steppingstones*)[18] by Thomas Talbot, of Basehall, and John Talbot his cousin of Colebry (*Salisbury*), with others more, which deceived; being at his dinner at Waddington Hall,[19] and carried to London on horseback, and his leg bound to the stirrup, and so brought, through London, to the Tower, where he was kept (*a*) long time by two squires, and two yeomen of the crown, and their men; and every man was suffered to come and speak with him, by licence of the keepers.

Henry VI. taken prisoner and conveyed to the Tower.

The Earl of Oxford, Lord Aubrey de Vere, and Sir Thomas Tudenham executed.

And in the FIFTH YEAR of King Edward, the Earl of Oxford,[20] the Lord Aubrey, his son, and Sir Thomas Tudenham, Knight, were taken and brought into the Tower of London, and there was laid to them high treason; and afterwards they were brought before the Earl of Worcester, and judged by law padowe (*pother*) that they should be had to the Tower Hill, where was made a scaffold, of eight feet high, and there were their heads smitten off, that all men might see, whereof the most people were sorry.

Lord Hungerford beheaded, 1466.

And in the SIXTH YEAR of King Edward's reign, the Lord Hungerford was taken and beheaded for high treason at Salisbury.

Sir Thomas Cooke and others tried July, 1467.

And in the SEVENTH YEAR of King Edward, Sir Thomas Cooke,[21] Sir John Plummer, knight, and alderman

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[17] Habington gives the same account, almost verbatim. See also: Hearne's Fragment, p. 14.

[18] "These Steppingstones formed a ford across the River Ribble."—(*Nichols.*)

[1] Never was a more disreputable act countenanced by men of standing than this perfidy towards the unfortunate Henry, *who was at that time the guest of Sir John Tempest of Bracewell.* His host, his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Talbot, and Sir James Harington, were all rewarded for the part they took in the betrayal of their Sovereign and Guest, by Edward IV.

[20] This was in 1461. See Hearne's Fragment, pp. 11, 12.

[21] Sir Thomas Cooke was Lord

of London, and Humphrey Howard, and other aldermen, were arrested, and treason surmised upon them, whereof they were acquit(*ed*), but they lost great goods to the King, to the value of forty thousand marks, or more; and divers times, in divers places of England, men were arrested for treason, and some were put to death, and some (*es*)caped. A.D. 1467.

And the EIGHTH YEAR of King Edward, a little before Michaelmas, there appeared a blazing star in the west, at four feet high by estimation, in (*the*) evening going from the west towards the north, and so endured for five or six weeks. A comet appears in September, 1468. And the same year Sir Thomas Hungerford, Knight, son to the Lord Hungerford, and Harry Courteney, the Earl of Devonshire of right, were taken for treason and beheaded at Salisbury; and men said the Lord Stafford[22] of Southwick was cause of the said Sir Thomas Hungerford, and Courteney, Earl of Devonshire, beheaded at Salisbury.

Mayor in 1462, and created a Knight of the Bath in 1464 on occasion of the Queen's Coronation.—(*See Hearne's Fragment*, p. 18.) Besides the persons noticed in the text William Wyrcester mentions the following: Thomas Danvers; Hugh Mill; Peter Alfrey; Sir Gervase Clifton; Hugh Pakenham; Nich. Hughes; Thomas Portland; Will. Bellknap; Robt. Knowles; John Fisher, of the Temple; John Hawkins, servant to the Lord Wenlock; and others, who were accused by Cornelius the Cobbler, under torture, of having held secret correspondence with Queen Margaret. "And the said John Hawkins accused Sir Thomas Cooke of treasonable communication with Hugh Mill, and also said many things against his own master, the Lord de Wenlock. And the said Sir Thomas Cooke being arrested and committed to the Tower of London, the doors of his house were closed, and all his goods carried away by the Lord Treasurer and (*Sir*) John Fogge, by authority of the timeserving Mayor, before he was found guilty." "The prisoners were brought to trial at Guildhall in July, before the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester; the Earls of Warwick, Northumberland and Essex; the Mayor, and the Lord Chief Justice Markham; and the other Judges. Peter Alfrey on being arrested acknowledged his treason; Hugh Mill pleaded a grant of pardon; John Hawkins was found guilty by the verdict of the jury; Thomas Cooke was acquitted of treason; but the jury found him guilty of concealment, which they adjudged to be misprision of treason; Hugh Pakenham and Thomas Portland were acquitted; and a certain John Norris, found guilty of treason, was hung at Tyburn with the said John Hawkins, and there also the Lord Archbishop of York set Peter Alfrey at liberty by a grant of the King's pardon." — (*William Wyrcester*, pp. 514, 15, 16.)

[22] "He was created Earl of Devonshire, May 7th, 1469; but beheaded by the Commons at Bridgewater before the close of the year." —(*Nichols.*)

A.D. 1468. Harry Courteney's death; for he would (*then*) be the Earl of Devonshire, and so the King made him afterwards, and (*he*) had it not half a year.

The Duke of Clarence marries the Lady Isabelle Neville, 1469.

And in the NINTH YEAR of the reign of King Edward, at Midsummer, the Duke of Clarence passed the sea to Calais to the Earl of Warwick, and there (*was*) wedded (*to*) his daughter by the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Warwick's brother, and afterwards came over again. And anon, after that, by their assignment, there was a great insurrection in Yorkshire,[23] of divers knights, squires, and commoners, to the number of twenty thousand; and Sir William Conyers, Knight, was their captain, which called himself Robin of Reddesdale, and against them arose, by the King's commandment, Lord Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, with [xliii.] forty-three thousand[24] of Welshmen, the best in Wales, and Humphrey Stafford, with 7000 of archers of the west country; and, as they went together, to meet the northmen, at a town [there] (*they*) fell in (*to*) a variance for (*choice of*) their lodging; and so the Earl of Devonshire departed from the Earl of Pembroke, with all his men. And Robin of Reddesdale came upon the Welshmen in a plain beyond Banbury town,[25] and there they fought strongly together, and there was the Earl of Pembroke taken, and his brother with him, and two

Robin of Redesdale's insurrection.

Battle of Hedgecote, July 25, 1469.

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[23] "And in September this same year, there was a rising in Yorkshire upon account of a certain Hospital in the city of that name, to the maintenance of which, contribution was demanded from the whole country. Though it was a very trifling cause the people took fire at it, as if it had been an affair of the last importance. There were no less than 15,000 men assembled, who marched with one *Robert Huldurn* at their head direct for York. But the Marquis of Montague being informed of their design, went out of the city with a few troops, and attacking them, when they least expected it, put them to the rout, took their leader, and caused his head to be cut off."—(*Rapin's Acta Regia*, p. 285.) It must therefore have been after the death of this Robert Huldurn that Sir William Conyers assumed the name of Robin of Redesdale.

[24] "The Roman numeral is xliii. This is probably a clerical error for xiiii, fourteen."—(*Halliwell.*)

[25] The Battle was fought on Danesmoor, at present inclosed and planted.

thousand Welshmen slain; and so the Welshmen lost the field, the twenty-sixth day of July, the same year. A.D. 1469.

The names of the gentlemen that were slain of (*the*) Welsh party in the same battle:—Sir Roger Vaughan, Knight; Harry (M)Organ,[26] (*his*) son and heir; Thomas Aprossehere (*ap Richard*) Vaughan, 'squire; William Herbert, of Brecknock, 'squire; Watkin Thomas, son to Roger Vaughan; Yvan ap John ap Merrick; Davy ap Jenkin ap Limerick; Harry Done ap Pikton; John Done of Kidwelly; Rise ap Morgan ap Ulston; Jenkin Perot ap Scotsburgh; John Eneand of Pembrokeshire; and John Contour (*Courtor*) of Hereford. List of the slain.

And of the north party there was slain Sir Harry Latimer,[27] son and heir to the Lord Latimer; Sir Roger Pigot, Knight; James Coniers, son and heir to Sir John Coniers, Knight; Oliver Audley (*Dudley*) 'squire; Thomas Wakes (*his*) son and heir; William Mallery, 'squire; and many other commoners, etc. And at that time was the Lord Rivers[28] taken, and one of his sons, in the forest of Dean, and brought to Northampton; and the Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Richard Herbert, his brother, were beheaded at Northampton;—all four by the commandment of the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick;—and Thomas Herbert was slain at Bristol, etc. And at that time was Stafford, that was Earl of Devonshire but half a year, taken at Bridgwater by the commons there in Somersetshire, and there right (*immediately*) beheaded. Lord Rivers and Sir John Woodville; Earl of Pembroke and Sir R. Herbert beheaded. Lord Stafford beheaded.

And after that, the Archbishop of York had understanding, that King Edward was in a village[29] beside, Edward taken prisoner by the Abp. of York.

[26] The spelling of Warkworth in these names is so faulty, that it is only by means of Leland's transcript that several are intelligible. Leland supplies: Morgan, for Organ; ap Richard for Aprosschere; Harison ap Pikton, for Harry Done ap Pikton; and John Enerard, for John Eneand.

[27] "Rather Sir Henry Neville, cousin-german to the great Earl of Warwick."—(*J. G. Nichols.*)

[28] See Hearne's Fragment, p. 24, 5.

[29] "King Edward taken by a train at Ulnay (*Olney*) Village by side Northampton by the Bishop of York."—(*Leland.*)

A.D. 1469. Northampton, and all his people, he raised, were fled from him; by the advice of the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, he rode with certain horsemen harnessed with him, and took King Edward,[30] and had him (*conveyed*) unto Warwick Castle a little while, and afterwards to York city; and there by fair speech and promise, the King (*es*)caped out of the Bishop's hands, and came unto London, and did what him liked. And the same year, the twentyninth day of September, Humfrey Neville, Knight, and Charles, his brother, were taken by the Earl of Warwick, and beheaded at York, the King being present. And in the same year [was] made a proclamation at the King's Bench in Westminster, and in the City of London, and in all England, (*of*) a general pardon to all manner of men, for all manner (*of*) insurrections and trespasses; and also a whole fifteenth should be gathered, and payed that same year, at Martinmass, and at our Lady Day in Lent after; which annoyed the people, for they had payed a little before a great tax, and the fifteenth part of every man's goods, etc.

Escapes and returns to London.

Free pardon proclaimed.

Property-tax levied.

Lord Welles' insurrection in Lincolnshire,

And in the TENTH YEAR of King Edward's reign, in the month of March, the Lord Willoughby;[31] the Lord Welles, his son; Thomas Delalande, Knight; and

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[30] This account of the captivity of Edward differs from that usually given by our historians. By them it is affirmed that whilst the King and the Earl of Warwick were negotiating the terms of peace, the Earl seized upon the person of Edward, and had him conveyed to the Castle of Midleham, to the custody of his brother the Archbishop, to whose care he intrusted him. "There is great talking in this country of the desire of my Lord of York; the people report full worshipfully of my Lord of Warwick; they have no fear here but that he and others should show too great favour to them that have been rulers of this country before time." — (*Paston Letters*, vol. iv. p. 177-9.)

[31] See Hearne's Fragment, p. 25. In the Excerpta Historica is given the confession of Sir Robert Welles, by which it appears that the object of the conspiracy was "to dethrone Edward and place the crown on the head of the Duke of Clarence, and that the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Clarence had for some time been urging Lord Welles and his son, to continue firm to their cause."

Sir Thomas Dymoke, Knight, the King's Champion, drove out of Lincolnshire Sir Thomas à Burgh, a Knight of the King's house, and pulled down his place, and took all his goods and chatels, that they might find, and they gathered all the commons of the shire, to the number of thirty thousand, and cried "King Harry," and refused "King Edward." And the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, caused all this, like as they did Robin of Reddesdale to rise before that, at Banbury field. And when King Edward heard thereof, he made out his commissions, and gathered a great people of men, and sent his pardon to the Lord Willoughby, and a commandment, that [they] (*he*) should come to him, and so he did. And when the King was sure of him, he and all his host went towards Lincolnshire, (*where*) the Lord Welles, and all the other people were gathered together; and (*he*) commanded Lord Willoughby to send a letter to his son, and to all the people, that he (*had*) gathered, that they should yield them (*selves*) to him, as to their Sovereign Lord, or else he made a vow, that the Lord Willoughby should lose his head; and he wrote, and sent his letter forth, but therefore they would not cease; wherefore the King commanded the Lord Willoughby's head for to be smitten off, notwithstanding his pardon. And so the King[32] took his host, and went towards his enemies, and loosed his guns of his ordinance upon them, and

A.D. 1469.

countenanced by Clarence and Warwick.

Edward's treacherous conduct towards Lord Willoughby.

Lord Willoughby beheaded.

[32] At first Edward was in ignorance as to the secret movers of this revolt being the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, and "trusting they would have aided him in subduing the insurrections in Lincolnshire, as they had promised, he had authorized them to assemble forces and bring them to him." His impetuosity did not allow him to wait for Warwick, and the Duke of Clarence, and having, by this victory, completely disconcerted the plans of the conspirators, instead of joining the King, they retreated to Manchester in alarm. Exasperated at their perfidy he arrayed the counties against them, and issued orders for their arrest, giving them, however, till the 28th of March to come in and receive his pardon. In the act of March 31, 1470, "he charges Warwick with having treacherously excited Welles to his insurrection."—(*See the Documents from the Close Rolls in the Chapter on the Disputes of the Royal Brothers.*)

A.D. 1469. Battle of Losecote field, Oct. 1, 1469.

fought with them, and anon the commons fled away; but there were many men slain of Lincolnshire, and the Lord Welles, Sir Thomas Delalande, and Sir Thomas Dymoke, Knights, taken and beheaded. And when the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick heard the field was lost, and how their counsel was discovered, they fled westwards to the sea side,[33] and took there hire-ships, and sailed towards Southampton, and intended there to have a great ship of the said Earl of Warwick's, called "the Trinity"; but the Lord Scales, the Queen's brother, was sent thither by the King's commandment, and others with him, and fought with the said Duke and Earl, and took there divers ships of theirs, and many of their men therein, so that the Duke and the Earl were fain to flee to the King of France, where they were worshipfully received. And after this the King Edward came to Southampton, and commanded the Earl of Worcester[34] to sit, and judge such men, as were taken in the ships, and so twenty persons of gentlemen and yeomen, were hanged,[35] drawn, and quartered, and headed; and after that they hanged up by the legs, and a stake made sharp at both ends,

The Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick flee to France.

Clapham and others executed at Southampton.

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[33] After the Battle of Stamford, Edward pursued his brother and the Earl of Warwick as far as Exeter. This we gather from the following letter of the Duke of Suffolk, (*John de la Pole*).

"*To the Bailiffs, Constables, and Chamberlains of our Borough of Eye, and to every each of them.*— For as much as Edmund Lee, and John Barker, which were waged for your town, to await upon us in the King's service to Lincoln field, and from thence to Exeter and (*back*) again; and for that reason, as we be informed, they are not yet fully contented and paid of their wages; wherefore, upon the sight hereof, we will and charge that ye without any longer delay pay them their whole duties according to (*the*) covenant that ye made with them, and ye fail not hereof, as ye intend our pleasure. Written at Wingfield, the 22 day of October (1470).— SUFFOLK."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. iv. p. 449.)

[34] "Tipetote (*John Tiptoft*) Earl of Worcester."—(*Leland.*)

[35] "Inter quos Clapham." "The Earl caused the bodies of certain condemned men, after they were hanged, to be thrust through the fundament up to the end with stakes."—(*Leland.*) From Warkworth's text it is evident that the heads had been severed from the bodies before the separate parts were thus reunited by means of the stake.

whereof one end was put in at bottokys, and the other end their head were put upon; for the which the people of the land were greatly displeased; and ever afterwards the Earl of Worcester was greatly [be]hated among the people, for their disordinate (*illegal*) death, that he used contrary to the law of the land. A.D. 1469.

And when the said Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick were in France, there appeared a blazing star in the west, and the flame thereof like a spear-head, the which diverse of the King's house saw it, whereof they were full sore adrede (*afraid*). And there in France, where the said lords were, they took their counsel what was best for to do; and they could find no remedy, but to send to Queen Margaret, and to make a marriage betwixt Prince Edward, King Henry's son,[36] and another of the said Earl of Warwick's daughters, which was concluded, and (*they were*) in France worshipfully wedded. And there it was appointed, and accorded, that King Harry should rejoice (*in*) the Kingdom of England again, and reign as well as he did before, and after him his Prince Edward, and his heirs of his body lawfully begotten; and, if it happened that he deceased without heirs of his body lawfully 'gotten, then should the Kingdom of England, with the Lordships of Ireland, remain unto George, the Duke of Clarence, and his heir for evermore. Also it was appointed and agreed, that Harry, Duke of Exeter, Edmund, Duke of Somerset, brother to Harry, that was slain at Hexham-field, the Earl of Devonshire, called Courteney, and all other knights, squires, and all others, that were put out and attainted for King Harry's quarrel, should come into England again, and every man to rejoice (*in*) his own livelihood and inhabitants (*inheritance*). [Which] all these 'pointments aforesaid, were written, indented, and sealed, betwixt the said Queen Margaret, the Prince, her son, in that one part, and the

A second comet mentioned.

Marriage between Edward Prince of Wales and the Lady Anne Neville.

[36] See Hearne's Fragment, p. 27, 8.

A.D. 1469. Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick on that other part. And moreover to make it sure they were sworn, and made great oaths to each other, which was done by all (*at the*) King of France's counsel.

The Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick land in England in Aug. 1470.

And in the same tenth year aforesaid, a little before Michaelmas, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick,[37] landed in the west country, and gathered there a great people. The Lord Marquis Montague had gathered six thousand men, by King Edward's commission and commandment, to the intent to have resisted the said Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick.

Nevertheless the said Marquis Montague hated the King, and purposed to have taken him; and when he was within a mile of King Edward, he declared to the people, that were there gathered with him, how King Edward had first given to him the Earldom of Northumberland, and how he took it from him, and gave it (*to*) Harry Percy, whose father was slain at York-field; and how, of late time, he had made him Marquis of Montague, and gave a pye's-nest to maintain his estate with; wherefore he gave knowledge to his people, that he would hold with the Earl of Warwick, his brother,

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[37] Edward appears to have been at York, when news reached him of the threatened invasion, as we learn from the following letter, directed:

"*To our well-beloved William Swan, Gentleman.*

"*R* (*ex*) *E* (*dwardus.*) By the King. Trusty and well-beloved we greet you; and for so much as we be credibly ascertained that our ancient enemies of France, and our outward rebels and traitors be drawn together in accord, and intend hastily to land in our country of Kent, or in parts thereof near adjoining, with great might and power of Frenchmen utterly to destroy us and our true subjects, and to subvert the commonweal of the same our Realm: —We straitly charge and command you, upon the faith and liegeance that ye bear unto us, that ye arredie (*make ready*) you with all the fellowship ye can make, and as soon as ye may understand that they land in our said county or near by, that ye draw thither, as we have commanded other our subjects to do, and put you in uttermost devoir (*endeavour*) with them to resist the malice of our said enemies and traitors; and if they and ye be not of power so to do, that then ye draw you to our city of London, by which time we trust to be there in our own person, or nearby; and if we be not that, that then ye do farther all ye shall be commanded by our Council there, upon the pain above said.

"Given under our signet, at our City of York, the 7th day of September."—(1470.)

and take King Edward if he might, and all those that would hold with him. But, anon, one of the host[38] went out from the fellowship, and told King Edward all manner of things, and bade him avoid, (*flee*,) for he was not strong enough to give battle to (*the*) Marquis (*of*) Montague; and then anon King Edward hasted him, in all that he might, to the town of Lynn, and there he took shipping,[39] on Michelmas day, in the tenth year of his reign, with Lord Hastings, that was the King's Chamberlain; Lord Say, with divers other knights, and squires; passed and sailed over the sea into Flanders, to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, for succour and help, etc.

A.D. 1470.

Edward warned of his danger (*by Alexander Lee*),

and flees into Flanders.

Here is to know, that in the beginning of the month of October, the year of our Lord 1470, the Bishop of Winchester, by the assent of the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, went to the Tower[40] of London, where King Harry was in prison, (by King Edward's commandment,) and there took him from his keepers, which was not worshipfully arrayed as a prince, and not so cleanly kept, as should (*be-*) seem such a Prince. They had him out, and new arrayed[41] him, and did to him great reverence, and brought him to the palace of Westminster, and so he was restored

Restoration of King Henry VI. Oct. 1470.

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[38] See Hearne's Fragment, p. 30.

[39] "He entered the ship without bag or baggage, without cloth, sack or mail, and perchance with a great purse and little treasure, for he nor his had no leisure to provide, according to their degrees and estates."—(*Grafton*, p. 688.)

[40] "Warwick came to the Tower, and there delivered King Henry VI. out of prison, and giving him his robe of Majesty, brought him to (*St.*) Paul's, the people rejoicing on every side, and there thanked God, for that it had chanced as they would and desired."—(*Hardyng's Contin.* 14.)

[41] "On the 25th of October, the Duke of Clarence accompanied by the Earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury, and the Lord Stanley, and other Lords and Gentlemen, some for fear, and some for love, and some only to gaze at the wavering world, resorted with great company to the Tower of London, and thence with great pomp brought King Henry VI. apparelled in a long gown of blue velvet, through the high streets of London, to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, the people on the right hand, and on the left hand, rejoicing and crying: "God save the King!"—(*Grafton's Chronicle*, p. 690.)

A.D. 1470. to the crown again, and wrote in all his letters, writs,
Anno Regni Regis Hen. VI. 49. and other records, the year of his reign, "*Anno Regni Regis Henrici Sexti quadragesimo nono*, et Reademptionis suæ Regiæ Potestatis primo." Whereof all his good lovers were full glad, and the more part of people (*also*). Nevertheless before that, at (*the time when*) he was put out of his realm by King Edward, all England, for the more part, hated him[41] and were full glad to
Reasons for Henry's former unpopularity. have a change; and the cause was the good Duke of Gloucester was put to death, and John Holland, Duke of Exeter poisoned, and that the Duke of Suffolk, the Lord Say, Daniel Trevylian, and other mischievous people, that were about the King, were so covetous towards themselves, and did no force[42] (*had no care*) of the King's honour, nor of his weal, nor of the common weal of the land, where King Harry trusted to them, that they should do, and labour in time of innocence ever for the common weal, which they did contrary to his will; and also France, Normandy, Gascoigne, and Guienne, was lost in his time. And these were the causes, with others, that made the people to grudge against him, and all because of his false lords, and never of him; and the common people said, if they might have another King, he should get all again, and amend all manner of things, that was amiss, and bring the realm of England in great prosperity and rest. Nevertheless, when King Edward the Fourth reigned, the people looked after all the foresaid prosperities, and
Reasons for Edward's unpopularity. peace, but it came not; but one battle after another, and much trouble and great loss of goods among the common people; as first the fifteenth of all their

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[41] See the Kentish Memorial, in the Introduction, in which all the grievances which led to the ill-feeling towards Henry are plainly expressed.

[42] "No force," is constantly used by Chaucer to imply, "no care," "no matter," as in the following instance:—

"I do no force of your divinity,
But o thing warne I thee, I wol not jape,
Thou wolt algates wete how we be shape."
Frere's Tale, 7094.

goods,[43] and then a whole fifteenth, and yet at every battle (*they had*) to come far out (*of*) their countries at their own cost; and these and such other (*causes*) brought England right low, and many men said that King Edward had much blame for hurting merchandize, for in his days they were not in other lands, nor within England, taken in such reputation and credence as they were before, etc. A.D. 1470.

And (*the*) twentysixth day of November, King Harry called a parliament[44] at Westminster, being there George, the Archbishop of York, Chancelor of England, which (*discussed*) this proposition before the King, and his Lords, and the commons, of that same parliament assembled, "Revertimini (*Convertimini*) [ad me] filii revertentes, (*dicit Dominus quia*) ego [enim] vir vester." Jeremiah, Chap. iii. (v. 14.) And in the month of February after, Harry, Duke of Exeter; Edmund, Duke of Somerset; Lord John of Somerset, his brother, Earl of Ormond; Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, brother to the King Harry; and the Earl of Richmond, with many other knights, and squires, gentlemen, and yeomen, came into England, and entered into their lordships, and lands, which at the parliament above said, and all other attainders, that were made in King Edward's time, were annulled, and King Harry was admitted to his crown, and dignity again, and all his men to their inheritance. And then was taken the Earl of Worcester,[45] which was arrested, and arraigned,

Henry calls a Parliament and annuls the Acts of Edward.

The proscribed Nobles return.

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[43] The very heavy taxes and aids levied by Edward had made him unpopular. He had held forth great promises, but instead of performing these he had oppressed the nation more than his predecessor. The continuator of Hardyng's Chronicle places in the mouth of the Earl of Warwick, however, the greatest cause of Edward's unpopularity: "Wherefore I think it will come to pass, that either he will destroy all nobility, or else nobility must destroy him." The King himself afterwards acknowledged to Commines that such was really his policy.—(See note [62], p. 128.

[44] See page 36, note [1].

[45] Infinitely beyond the time in which he lived was John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, one of the most

A.D. 1470. before Sir John Vere, the Earl of Oxford, son and heir to the 'foresaid Earl of Oxford, which was beheaded at the Tower Hill, as before written; and so the Earl of Worcester[46] was judged by such law, as he did to other men, and when he was dead, his body and his head were buried together, at the Black Friars in London, with all the honours and worship, that his friends could do.

The Earl of Worcester executed.

Also Queen Elizabeth King Edward's wife, which had well victualed and fortified the Tower of London, when she heard that her sovereign and husband was fled,[47] she went secretly out of the tower into sanctuary at Westminster, with all her children, and she herself was

Queen Elizabeth goes to sanctuary at Westminster.

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learned and accomplished men in Europe. The friend of Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II.), like him he was the great patron and encourager of literature in this country, and by his liberality William Caxton was enabled to introduce the Art of Printing into England. The printer's heart overflows in gratitude, and in dropping a tear over the untimely fate of his benefactor, leaves a deplorable picture of the ignorance of the bulk of the nobility in the Reign of Edward the Fourth. His words are: "*In hys tyme flowered in vertue and cunnyng none lyke hym emong the lordes of the temporalitie, in scyence and morall vertue.*" And again: "*The axe then dyd att one blowe cut of more lernynge, than was lefte in the heads of all the survyvyng Lordes and nobilitie.*" Lord Worcester was beheaded A.D. 1470, during the short restoration of King Henry the Sixth, having fled on the departure of Edward the Fourth. He was taken concealed in a tree in Weybridge Forest. Besides the works enumerated in Lord Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, I have seen in the Library of the late John Hawkins, Esq., a Manuscript Chronicle of England with this title: "*Chronica Regum Angliæ ex Diversis Historiographis per Dominum Johannem Wigornii Comitem sparsim collecta.*" It is a closely written 4to volume, on vellum of different texture, and consisting of 174 leaves.

[46] "And in those days was taken that cruel executioner, and dreadful headsman, the Earl of Worcester, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, and in a short time after beheaded at the said Tower, and buried obscurely at the Black Friars (*apud Fratres Predicatores*) near Ludgate." — (*MS. Arundel. Coll. Arm.* V. fol. 171[b].)

[47] "When the fame was spread of King Edward flying, innumerable people resorted to the Earl of Warwick to take his part; but all King Edward's trusty friends went to divers Sanctuaries, daily looking and hourly harkening, to hear of his health and prosperous return, who afterwards served him manfully and truly. Amongst others, Queen Elizabeth, his wife, almost desperate of all comfort, took sanctuary at Westminster, and there in great penury, forsaken of all her friends, was delivered of a fair son called Edward, which was with small pomp, like a poor man's child, christened and baptized, the godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of Westminster, and the godmother, the Lady Scrope." — (*Grafton's Chronicle*, p. 690.)

great with child, and was delivered there even of a son, that was called Prince Edward of England; and there she abode still in great trouble, till King Edward came in again to her. A.D. 1470.

And in the second week of March, the forty-ninth year of the Reign of King Harry the Sixth, and in the TENTH YEAR of the reign of King Edward, the Fourth, the same King Edward took his shipping in Flanders,[48] and had with him the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Say, and nine hundred of Englishmen, and three hundred of Flemmings, with hand-guns, and sailed towards England, and had great trouble upon the sea with storms, and lost a ship with horses; and purposed to have landed in Norfolk, and one of the Earl (*of*) Oxford's brothers, with the commons of the country, arose up together, and put him aback to the sea again. And after that, as he was so troubled in the sea, that he was fain to land in Yorkshire, at Ravenspurne;[49] and there rose against him all the country of Holderness, whose captain was a priest, and a person in the same country called, Sir John Westerdale, which afterwards for his abused disposition, was cast in prison in the Marshalsea, at London by the same King Edward: for the same priest met King Edward, and asked the cause of his landing; and he answered, that he came thither by the Earl of Northumberland's advice, and shewed the Earl's letter he sent to him etc. under his seal; and also he came for to claim the Duchy of York, the which was his inheritance of right, and so passed forth to the city of York, where Thomas Clifford let him in, and there he was examined again; and he said to the mayor, and aldermen, and to all the commons of the city, in likewise as he was before in Holderness at his landing; that was to say that (*he*) never would claim no title, nor take upon

King Edward takes shipping in Flanders,

and lands at Ravenspurne,

by invitation of the Earl of Northumberland.

Claims at first only his Dukedom of York,

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[48] See note [2], page 36.

[49] See Fleetwood's Manuscript, p. 38.

A.D. 1470. hand to be King of England,[50] nor would have done (*so*) before that time, but by (*the*) exciting and stirring of the Earl of Warwick; and thereto before all (*the*) people he cried: "A King Harry, A King and Prince Edward," and wore an ostrich feather, Prince Edward's livery. And after this he was suffered to pass the city, and so held his way southward, and no man letted (*hindered*) nor hurt him.

and wears Prince Edward's badge.

At Nottingham he is joined by Sir W. Stanley and Sir W. Norris;

Afterward that, he came towards Nottingham, and there came to him Sir William à Stanley, with three hundred men, and Sir William Norris, and divers other men, and tenants of Lord Hastings, so that he had [Mi. Mi.] two thousand men and more; and anon after he made his proclamation,[51] and called himself King Edward of England, and of France. Then took he his way to Leicester, where were the Earl of Warwick, and the Lord Marquis, his brother, with four thousand men or more. And King Edward sent a messenger to them, that if they would come out, that he would fight[52] with them. But the Earl of Warwick had a letter from the Duke of Clarence, that he should not fight with him, till he came himself; and all (*this*) was to the destruction of the Earl of Warwick, as it happened afterward. Yet so the Earl of Warwick kept still the gates of the town shut, and suffered King Edward (*to*) pass towards London; and, a little out of Warwick, met the Duke of Clarence[53] with King Edward, with seven thousand

proceeds to Leicester and challenges the Earl of Warwick.

Edward and the Duke of Clarence reconciled, and proceed to London.

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[50] See Fleetwood's MS., pp. 40, 41, notes [4] and [6].

[51] Leland says 4 M. men or more; The MS. merely Mi. Mi. "This proclamation cast a great shame and dolour into the hearts of the Citizens of York, for that they might apparently perceive, that they were seduced and for their goodwill unhonestly (if it might be said) deluded and mocked."—(*Grafton*, p. 699.)

[52] "And the next day after this he came thither, (*to Coventry*) his men were set forward, and marshalled in array, and he valiantly bade the Earl battle: which, mistrusting that he should be deceived by the Duke of Clarence (as he was indeed), kept himself close within the walls."—(*Grafton*, p. 700.)

[53] "The Duke came with a great power of men. The which, when King Edward perceived, he made towards him, and that it should not be thought to be a made guile, set his host in array, as though he would fight, and so did the Duke.

men, and there they were made accord, and made a proclamation forthwith in King Edward's name; and so all covenants of fidelity made betwixt the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, Queen Margaret, Prince Edward, her son, both in England, and in France, were clearly broken and forsaken of the said Duke of Clarence; (which in conclusion was destructive both to him, and them; for perjury shall never have better end without great grace of God. *Vide finem, &c.*) King Harry then was in London, and the Archbishop of York, within the Bishop of London's Palace. A.D. 1470.

Abp. of York rides through London with King Henry.

And on the Wednesday next before Easter-day, King Harry, and the Archbishop of York with him, rode about London, and desired the people to be true unto him; and every man said they would. Nevertheless Urswyke, Recorder of London, and divers Aldermen, such that had rule of the city, commanded all the people, that were in harness, keeping the city, and King Harry, every man to go home to dinner; and in dinner time King Edward was let in, and so went forth to the Bishop of London's palace, and there took King Harry, and the Archbishop of York, and put them in ward,[54] the Thursday next before Easter-day. And the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Berners, and such other as owed King Edward good will, as well in London, as in other places, made as many men as they might, in strengthening the said King Edward; so then he was a seven thousand men (*strong*), and there they refreshed well themselves, all that day, and Good

Edward enters and places King Henry and the Abp. of York in ward.

But when they came in sight, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, first spake with the Duke privily, and then came to Edward, and did the same to him, and at the last peace was proclaimed, whereby every man putting down his weapons, King Edward and his brethren embraced lovingly one another, etc. etc."—(*Hardyng's Contin.* p. 19.)

[54] This differs from the account in Fleetwood's MS. see p. 60; and Warkworth himself implies, in his account of the Archbishop's misfortunes, hereafter narrated, that he had made his peace with Edward, before he reached London. If therefore he was put in ward, it must only have been done to keep up appearances.

A.D. 1470. Friday. And upon Easter Even, he and all his host
Proceeds to Barnet, went toward Barnet, and carried King Harry[55] with him; for he had understanding, that the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Exeter, the Lord Marquis (*of*) Montague, the Earl of Oxford, and many other knights, squires, and commons, to the number of twenty thousand, were gathered together to fight against King
and meets the Earl of Warwick's troops. Edward. But it happened that he, with his host, were entered into the town of Barnet, before the Earl of Warwick, and his host. And so the Earl of Warwick, and his host, lay without the town all night, and each of
Battle of Barnet, Easter Sunday, 14th April, 1471. them loosed guns at (*the*) other all the night. And on Easter day in the morning, the fourteenth day of April, right early each of them came upon (*the*) other; and there was such a great mist, that neither of them might see (*the*) other perfectly. There they fought from four of clock in the morning, unto ten of clock (*in*) the forenoon. And divers times the Earl of Warwick's party had the victory, and supposed that they had won the field. But it happened so, that the Earl of Oxford's men had upon them their lord's livery, both before and behind, which was a star with streams, which (*was*) much like King Edward's livery, the sun with streams; and the mist was so thick, that a man might not perfectly judge one thing from another; so the Earl of Warwick's men shot and fought against the Earl of

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[55] "The which fortune chanced to him by many men's opinions, because he was a very simple and innocent man, and that he had rather in godliness and virtue excel others, than in honour and rule; so that for the love that he had to Christ's Religion, he looked for no dignity or honour, which chanceth to few that will not seek for it, or regard and keep it when they have it. But his enemies said he was a coward, and had not the heart or manliness to be a King, or meet for that office. So, that whosoever despiseth what the common people alloweth and marveleth at, is accounted for a madman; contrarywise he that doth agree to them, and in their tale, he is a wise man, where indeed such wisdom (as it is commonly said) is foolishness before God. Also some said, it was the will of God, that it should so be, for his grandfather Henry IV. got it by violency and force of arms, so that it could not be long enjoyed of him; but that fault of the grandfather did redound on the heirs."—(*Hardyng's Chronicle, Contin.* 14.)

Oxford's men, thinking and supposing, that they had been King Edward's men; and anon the Earl of Oxford, and his men, cried "treason! treason!!" and fled away from the field with eight hundred men. The Lord Marquis (*of*) Montague[56] was agreed, and appointed with King Edward, and put upon him King Edward's livery; and a man of the Earl of Warwick's, saw that, and fell upon him, and killed him. And, when the Earl of Warwick saw his brother dead, and the Earl of Oxford fled, he leaped on horseback, and fled to a wood by the field of Barnet, where was no way forth; and one of King Edward's men had espied him, and one came upon him, and killed him, and despoiled him naked. And so King Edward got that field. And there was slain of the Earl of Warwick's party, the Earl himself, Marquis (*of*) Montague, Sir William Tyrell, Knight, and many others. The Duke of Exeter fought man(*ful*)ly there that day, and was greatly despoiled, and wounded, and left naked for dead in the field, and so lay there from seven of (*the*) clock, till four (*in the*) afternoon, which was taken up and brought to a house * by a man of his own, and a leech brought to him and so afterwards brought into sanctuary at Westminster. And (*of*) King Edward's party was slain the Lord Cromwell, son and heir to the Earl of Essex; Lord Berners (*his*) son and heir, (*Sir Humphrey Bourchier;*) Lord Say, and divers other to the

A.D. 1471.

The Marquis of Montague slain.

Edward obtains the victory.

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[56] This account of the battle differs in all respects from Fleetwood's MS. see p. 64, 5. The Continuator of Hardyng's Chronicle, who accuses the Marquis of treachery prior to the battle, bears witness to his proper conduct during the engagement. Finding the King's forces greatly to outnumber his own, and seeing fresh troops continually replacing those he had driven back, the Earl of Warwick, to comfort and encourage his men, "most valiantly came among the midst of his enemies, and there killed and slew many of them, when he himself at last was stricken down, and his brother, Lord Marquis, then following him, after whose death all the others fled and so were taken most part of them."—(*Hardyng's Contin.* p. 21.) Sir John Paston, who was present in Warwick's army, does not notice any treachery on the part of the Marquis, but makes honourable mention of him.—(See note [38], p. 66.)

* "Called Rutheland."—(*Leland.*)

A.D. 1471. The bodies of the Earl of Warwick and Marquis of Montague exposed at St. Paul's.

number [of both parties] four thousand men. And after that the field was done, King Edward commanded both the Earl of Warwick's body, and the Lord Marquis' body, to be put in a cart, and returned himself with all his host again to London; and there commanded the said two bodies, to be laid in the church of (St.) Paul's, on the pavement, that every man might see them; and so they lay three or four days, and afterwards were buried.[57] And King Harry, being in the forward (*in sure ward*) during the battle, was not hurt; but he was brought again to the Tower of London, there to be kept.

And Queen Margaret, and Prince Edward her son, other knights, squires, and other men of the King of France, had navy to bring them to England; which when they were shipped in France, the wind was so contrary unto them seventeen days and nights, that (*they*) might not come from Normandy with unto England, which with a wind, might have sailed it in twelve hours; which at the seventeen days end, on Easter day at the even, the(*y*) landed at Weymouth, and so by land from Weymouth the(*y*) rode to Exeter; and met with here, at Weymouth, Edmund Duke of Somerset, the Lord John his brother,[58] brother to Harry Duke of Somerset slain at Hexham, and Courteney the Earl of Devonshire, and many other. And on Easter Monday were brought tidings to them, that King Edward had won the field at Barnet, and that King Harry was put into the Tower again. And anon right they made out commandments, in the Queen's name and the Prince's, to all the west country, and gathered great people, and

Queen Margaret and Edward Prince of Wales land at Weymouth, April 14th, 1471,

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[57] See Fleetwood's MS., p. 67. "The common people said, that the King was not so jocund, nor so joyous, for the destruction of the Earl, but he was more sorrowful for the death of the Marquis, whom both he knew, and it appeared to others, to be inwardly his faithful friend. For whose only sake, he caused both their bodies to be with their ancestors, solemnly buried at the Priory of Bisham."—(*Grafton*, p. 705.)

[58] See Fleetwood's MS., p. 68, *et seq.* "Thither (to Weymouth) came to them Edmund Duke of Somerset, the Lord John his brother [uncle] etc."—(*Leland.*)

kept their way towards the town of Bristol. And when the King heard that they were landed, and had gathered so much people, he took all his host, and went out of London the Wednesday in Easter week, and man(*ful*)ly took his way towards them; and (*when*) Prince Edward heard thereof, he hastened himself, and all his host towards the town of Gloucester; but he entered not into the town, but held forth his way to the town of Tewkesbury, and there he made a field not far from the river Severn. And King Edward, and his host, came upon him the Saturday, the fourth day of May, the year aforesaid of our Lord 1471,—and the ELEVENTH YEAR of King Edward. And Edmund Duke of Somerset, and Sir Hugh Courtenay, went out of the field, by the which the field was broken; and the most part of the people fled away from the Prince, by the which the field was lost, in their party.[59] And there was slain in the field, Prince Edward,[60] which cried for succour to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Clarence. Also there was slain, Courtenay, the Earl of Devonshire, the Lord John of Somerset, the Lord Wenlock, Sir Edmund Hampden, Sir Robert Whittingham, Sir William Vaux, Sir Nicholas Harvey, Sir John Delvis, Sir William Fielding, Sir Thomas Fitzharry, Sir John Lewkenor, knights; and these were taken and beheaded afterwards, where the King had pardoned them in the abbey-church of Tewkesbury, by a priest, that turned out at his mass, and the sacrament in his hands, when King Edward came with his sword into the church; (*who*) required him by the virtue of the sacrament, that he should pardon all those whose names here follow: the Duke of Somerset, the Lord of Saint John's, Sir Humphrey Audeley, Sir Gervais of Clifton, Sir William Gremyby, Sir William Cary,

A.D. 1471. and proceed to Bristol,

thence to Gloucester,

and Tewkesbury.

Battle of Tewkesbury, May 4th, 1471.

Edward Prince of Wales, and the flower of the Lancastrians slain.

Edward's thorough disregard of the most sacred promises.

[59] "This was the last Civil-battle that was fought in King Edward's days, which was fought the 3rd day of May, then being Saturday."—(*Grafton*, p. 710.)

[60] See Fleetwood's MS., page 82, and note [13].

A.D. 1471. Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir William Newburgh, knights; Harry Tresham, Walter Courtenay, John Florey, Lewis Myles, Robert Jackson, James Gower, James Delvis, son and heir to Sir John Delvis; which, upon trust of the King's pardon,[61] given in the same church, the Saturday, abode there still, when they might have gone, and saved their lives;[62] which (*however*) on Monday after were beheaded notwithstanding the King's pardon.

The King's perfidy and perjury.

Queen Margaret and the Princess of Wales taken.

And afterwards these ladies were taken:—Queen Margaret;[63] Prince Edward's wife, the second daughter of the Earl of Warwick; the Countess of Devonshire, Dame Katherine Vane. And these were taken, and

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[61] The promises of Edward appear only to have been made to betray those who confided in them. This entire want of Kingly faith may account in some measure for the great loss of life in these civil wars, as it was considered safer to trust to the sword than to the King's word.

[62] Much noble blood would have been spared but for the cruel policy of Edward. He told Commines, himself, that "it was his custom, when the victory was decided, to ride over the field, exhorting his men to save the common people, but to put the gentry to the sword."

[63] Margaret was first conveyed to the Tower, and thence to Windsor. Having destroyed all her noble followers, the King appears to have relaxed in his conduct towards her, for on the 8th of January following, Sir John Paston thus writes to his mother: "As for Queen Margaret, I understand that she is removed from Windsor to Wallingford, nigh to Ewelm, my Lady of Suffolk's place in Oxfordshire."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 89.) She was thus committed to the custody of the Duchess of Suffolk, her former favourite, who was allowed five marks per week for her maintenance. Here she remained till 1475, when Louis the XI. agreed to pay the mercenary Edward fifty thousand crowns, in five instalments, for her ransom, being the sum to be paid to King Réné for ceding his right of inheritance to Provence. The first instalment was paid to the Lord Treasurer Howard on November 13th in that year, and Margaret accompanied by the retinue of a private lady only departed for France, landing at Dieppe in the early part of January, 1476. Hence she proceeded to Rouen to fulfil her part of the stipulations of the treaty, by which she renounced all right and title to all inheritances and privileges to which her marriage articles entitled her. "I, Margaret, formerly married in the Kingdom of England, hereby assign all that I could pretend to in England by the articles of my marriage, with all other things there to Edward, now King of England."—(*Rymer*, vol. xii. p. 21.) Even in this last act of Edward towards the widowed Queen he would not allow her any designation of royalty. Margaret ended her eventful life at the Castle of Damprierre, August 25th, 1482, aged 50. She founded Queen's College, Cambridge. They were taken on the 14th of May, 1471.—(*MS. Arundel Coll. Arms*, V. p. 171^{b}.)

not slain; Sir John Fortescue, Sir John Sentlow, Sir Harry Roos, Thomas Ormond, Doctor Makerell, Edward Fulford, John Parker, John Basset, John Wallis, John Thromere Throgmorton, and divers other men. And there was taken great good (*booty*) and many good horses, that were brought from beyond the sea. A.D. 1470.

And in the same time that the battle of Tewkesbury was, Sir Walter Wrottyle (*Qy. Russell*) and Geoffrey Gate, knights of the Earl of Warwick's, (*who*) were governors of the town of Calais, did send Sir George Brooke knight, out of Calais, with three hundred of soldiers, unto Thomas Bastard Falconbridge, that was on the sea with the Earl of Warwick's navy, that he should the navy save; and go into Kent, and to raise all Kent, to that intent to take King Harry out of the Tower, and destroy King Edward if he might; which Bastard came into Kent, to Canterbury, and he, with (*the*) help of other gentlemen, they raised up all Kent, and came to London the fifth day of May the year aforesaid. But then the Lord Scales, that King Edward had left to keep the city, with the Mayor and Aldermen, would not suffer the said Bastard to come into the city; for they had understanding that Prince Edward was dead, and all his host discomfited: wherefore the Bastard loosed his guns into the city, and burnt at Aldgate, and at London bridge; for the which burning the commons of London were sore wroth, and greatly moved against them; for an (*if*) they had not burnt, the commons of the city would have let them in, maugre (*notwithstanding*) of the Lord Scales' heed, the Mayor, and all his brethren. Wherefore the Bastard, and all his host went over at Kingston Bridge,[64] ten miles westward, and had purposed to have destroyed King Edward, or to have driven him out of the land. And if the Bastard had held forth his way, King Edward

Sir George Brooke and the Bastard of Falconbridge land in Kent,

and besiege London, May 5, 1471;

thence proceed to Kingston,

[64] See Fleetwood's MS., p. 90.

A.D. 1471. by possibility could not by power, have resisted the Bastard; for the Bastard had more than twenty thousand good men, well harnessed, and (*where*) ever as he went, the people fell to him. The Lord Scales, and divers other of King Edward's council, that were in London, saw that the Bastard and his host went westward; and that it should be a greater jeopardy to King Edward, than was Barnet field, or Tewkesbury field, (in so much when the field of Tewkesbury was done, his host was departed from (*him*);) wherefore they promised to the Bastard, and to divers others that were about him, and in especial to one Nicholas Faunt, Mayor of Canterbury, that he should

but befooled to Blackheath, entreat him to turn homewards again. And for as much as fair words, and promises make fools fain, the Bastard commanded all his host, to turn to Blackheath[65] again; which was destruction of himself, and many others; for anon after, by the Duke of Gloucester in Yorkshire, the said Bastard was beheaded,[66] notwithstanding he had a charter of pardon. And Nicholas Faunt was afterwards

and thence to Rochester and Sandwich. hanged, drawn, and quartered in Canterbury. And when the Bastard and all his host, were come to the Blackheath again, in the next morning, he with the soldiers, and shipmen of Calais, to the number of six hundred horsemen, stole away from the host, and rode to Rochester; and from thence to Sandwich, where the Bastard abode the King's coming, and the soldiers sailed over sea to Calais. And when the host understood, that their Captain was stole from them, they kept themselves together all a day and a night, and then every man departed to his own house. And when King Edward heard thereof he was glad, etc.

Here (*it*) is to (*be*) known, that King Edward made

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[65] Fleetwood's MS., p. 92.

[66] Another instance of Edward's perfidy. "On the 27th of Sept. 1471, he was beheaded," and his head was put upon London Bridge, looking into Kent ward; and men say, that his brother was sore hurt, and escaped to Sanctuary to Beverley. — (*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 83.)

out commissions to many shires of England; which in a ten days there came to him, where he was, to the number of thirty thousand, and came with the King to London, and there he was worshipfully received. And the same night that King Edward came to London, King Harry, being in ward, in prison in the Tower of London, was put to death,[67] the twenty first day of May, on a Tuesday night, betwixt eleven and twelve of the clock; being then at the Tower, the Duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward, and many others; and on the morrow he was chestyde (coffined) and brought to (*St.*) Paul's, and his face was open that every man might see him. And in his lying, he bled on the pavement there; and afterward at the Black Friars was brought, and there he bled (*a*)new and (*a*)fresh; and from thence he was carried to Chertsey Abbey in a boat, and buried there in our Lady Chapel. On the morrow that the King was come to London, for the good service that London had done to him, he made knights of the Aldermen;—Sir John Stokstone, Sir Ralph Verney, Sir Richard Lee, Sir John Young, Sir William Taylor, Sir George Ireland, Sir John Stoker, Sir Matthew Philip, Sir William Hampton, Sir Thomas Stalbroke, Sir John Crosby, (*and*) Sir Thomas Urswike, Recorder of London. And after that, the King and all his host rode into Kent to Canterbury, where many of the country (*people*) that were at Blackheath with the Bastard, were arrested and brought before him. And there was hanged, drawn and quartered, one Faunt[69] of Canterbury, that was

A.D. 1471.

Murder of King Henry the Sixth.

Edward, on his return to London, knights the Aldermen.

Proceeds to Canterbury and Sandwich.

Nicholas Faunt executed.

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[67] See Fleetwood's MS., p. 93, note [20]. From "A Breviat Cronicle, contaynynge all the Kynges from Brute to this daye, etc." Canterbury, 1553, is taken the following extract:—"In this year, also, upon the ascension even next following the dead corps of King Henry, the Sixth was brought from the Tower of London where he lay allnight. But how this prince came to his death, there be divers sayings; but commonly it is said that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, King Edward's brother, slew him with a dagger."

[69] "In the Issue Roll of the Exchequer, XI. Edw. IV. we find the sum of £1 3s. 4d. paid to one John Belle, for the value of a horse

A.D. 1471. loving to the Earl of Warwick, which entreated the Bastard for to depart from his host; and divers men of the country were hanged and put to death. After that, the King rode into Sandwich, and beside all the Earl of Warwick's navy there, that the Bastard had rule of; and took the Bastard with him, and returned again to London. And immediately after that, was the Lord Dinham, and Sir John Fog,[70] and divers others made commissioners, that sat upon all Kent, Sussex, and Essex, that were at Blackheath, and upon many others that were not there; for some men paid two hundred marks, some a hundred pounds, and some more and some less, so that it cost the poorest man seven shillings, which was not worth so much, but was fain to sell such clothing as they had, and borow the remainder, and labour for it afterwards. And so the King had out of Kent much good (*booty*) and little love. Lo! what mischief grows after insurrection! etc.

Lord Dinham and Sir John Fog appointed to try the rebels, who "hang the rich by the purse, and the others by the neck."—(*Stowe.*)

Reappearance of the comet.

And in (*the*) same eleventh year of the King, in the beginning of January, there appeared the most marvellous blazing star that had been seen. It arose in the southeast, at two of the clock at midnight, and so continued a twelve nights; and it arose easter and easter, till it arose full east; at rather[71] and rather (*sooner*

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and harness to conduct this Nicholas Faunt from the Tower of London, to the King, then in Kent. Hasted is one of the very few writers who quotes Warkworth's Chronicle, which he does on this point: History of Kent, vol. iv. p. 433." —(*Halliwell.*) "And there was Nicolas Faunte, the Mayor, and many others executed."—(*Leland.*)

[70] This Sir John Fog was a creature of King Edward the Fourth's, and had been employed by him in the illegal seizure and appropriation of the property of the wealthy citizens, accused of treason, particularly of Sir Thomas Cook, who had been Lord Mayor. — (See p. 109.) On the short restoration of King Henry VI. Sir Thos. Cooke, then one of the members for the City, required restitution of the 22,000 marks he had lost, "and casting (*foreseeing*) no perils, executed the utmost of his wrongs, against such as he knew bare any favour to King Edward, of which he repented full sore afterwards, and was fain to fly the land."—(*Stowe*, p. 185.)

[71] Comparative of the adverb: rathe, *soon, early*. Concerning this Comet, Mr. Halliwell refers to the Nurembergh Chronicle, fol. 254—MS. Arundel. Brit. Mus. 220.

and sooner) ; and so when it rose plain east, it rose at ten A.D. 1472.
of clock in the night, and kept his course flaming westward over England ; and it had a white flame of fire fervently burning ; and it flamed endlong from the east to the west, and not upright, and a great hole therein, whereof the flame came out of. And after six or seven days, it arose north-east, and so backwarder and backwarder ; and so endured a fourteen nights, full little changing, going from the north-east to the west, and some time it would seem quenched out, and suddenly it burnt fervently again. And then it was at one time plain north, and then it compassed round about the loadstar, for in the evening the blaze went against the south, and in the morning plain north, and then afterwards west ; and so more west, flaming up right. And so the star continued four weeks, till the twentieth day of February ; and when it appeared yest (*just*) in the firmanent (*horizon*), then it lasted all the night, somewhat descending with a greater smoke on the air. And some men said that the blazings of the said star were of a mile (*in*) length. And a twelve days before the vanishing thereof, it appeared in the evening, and was down anon within two hours, and ever of a colour pale, (*and*) steadfast ; and it kept his course rising west in the north, and so every night, it appeared less and less till it was as little as a hazel stick ; and so at the last it vanished away the twentieth day of February. And some men said that this star was seen two or three hours before the sun('*s*) rising in December, four days before Christmas, in the southwest, so by that reason it compassed round about all the earth, all way changing his course, as is afore rehearsed.

And in the TWELFTH YEAR of King Edward, he let call Resumption of all Royal grants.
a parliament to be holden at Westminster, the which began the eighth day after Michelmas the same year ; in which parliament was a general resumption of all lordships, tenements, and other possessions and fiefs granted by the King, from the first day of his reign

A.D. 1472. unto the day aforesaid. Also there was granted, in the same parliament, that the tenth part of every man's good(*s*), lands, tenements, rents, and fiefs, throughout all England, the value thereof as for a year; and also a whole V^th^. among the commons, to be raised of goods and chatels; and also £51,700 to be raised, of all men's lands, goods, and other possessions within the realm of England. Also there was granted to the King by the spiritualty, in a convocation, two dismes and priests' marks, throughout all England; which all was granted by the desire of the King, for he said he would (*go*) over sea, and conquer his right and title in France, Normanday, Gascoigne, and Guienne.[72]

Heavy taxes and impositions laid on the people for the war with France.

The Hot summer. A.D. 1473. Also in (*the*) THIRTEENTH YEAR of King Edward, there was a great hot summer, both for man and beast, by the which there was great death of men and women, that in fields in harvest time men fell down suddenly, and universal fevers, axes, (*aches*), and the bloody flux, in divers places of England. And also the heat was so great, that it burnt away wheat, and all other grains and grass, in (*the*) south parts of the world, in Spain, Portugal, Granada, and others etc., and that a bushel of wheat was worth twenty shillings; and men were fain in that country, to give away their children for to find them (*selves, in food*). But blessed be Almighty God, no such dearth was neither in England, nor in France.

The superstition of the Womere. Also in the same year, Womere[73] water ran, hugely,

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[72] "And upon this King Edward took his voyage to France, taking besides his aid, that he had, certain money of the Lords of the realm, which they of their own gentleness gave unto him, (see *Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 159-163,) to the sustenance and maintaining of his army. And for that, the King called that tribute and levying of money, benevolence, which, nevertheless, was given with evil will of many one." —(*Hardyng*, fol. 26.) A letter to Sir John Paston from his brother, about this time, shows how very unpalatable these subsidies were. "I pray God send you the Holy Ghost among you in the Parliament-House, and rather the devil, we say, than ye should grant any more tasks."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 49.)

[73] The Womere was a popular superstition of the day, and is circumstantially described in our text. In Mr. Thom's "Anecdotes and Traditions" is another instance, p. 122, where he refers to Grimm's Mythologie for more examples. It must be borne in mind that the

with such abundance of water, that never man saw it run so much before this time. Womere is called the woe-water; for Englishmen, when they did first inhabit this land, also (*as*) soon as they saw this water run, they knew well it was a token of dearth, or of pestilence, or of great battle; wherefore they called it *Wemere;* (for *we* is in English tongue woe, and *mere* is called water, which signifieth woe-water) for all that time they saw it run, they knew well that woe was coming to England. And this Womere is seven miles from Saint Albans, at a place called Markayte; and this Womere ran at every field before specified, and never so hugely as it did this year, and ran still to the thirteenth day of June next year following. Also there have run divers such other waters, that betoken likewise; one at Lewisham in Kent, and another beside Canterbury called Nailbourn, and another at Croydon in Sussex, (*Surrey*) and another seven miles on this side the castle of Dudley in the place called Hungervale; that when it betokeneth battle it runs foul and troubled water; and when it betokeneth dearth or pestilence, it runneth as clear as any water, but this year it ran right troubled and foul water etc. Also there is a pit[74] in Kent, in Langley Park; against any battle it will be dry, and it rain ever so much; and if there be no battle towards, it will be full of water, be it ever so dry a weather; and this year it is dry etc. Also this same year, there was a voice crying in the air, betwixt Leicester and Banbury, upon Dunmothe, (*Dunchurch*) and in divers other places, heard a long time crying, "Bowes! bowes!" (*Woes*) which was heard of forty men; and some men saw that he that cryed so, was a headless man; and many other divers tokens have A.D. 1473.

recording a superstition, which was then universally credited, cannot detract from the veracity of an author; and that Sir Thomas More, and Sir Matthew Hale believed as firmly in witchcraft, as the old chronicler Fabyan, or the pedant James.

[74] "Fons superstitiosus."—(*Leland.*)

A.D. 1473. been shewed in England this year, for amending of men's living.

Edward covets the possessions of the Abp. of York.

Also this year, or a little before, George the Archbishop of York, and brother to the Earl of Warwick, was with King Edward[75] at Windsor, and hunted and had there right good cheer; and supposed (*that*) he had stood in great favour with the King; for the King said to the said Archbishop, that he would come for to hunt and disport with him in his manor at Moore; whereof he was right glad, and took his leave and went home to make purveyance therefore; and sent out of London, and divers other places, all his plate and other stuff that he had hid after Barnet field, and Tewkesbury field; and also borowed more stuff of other men, and provided for the King for two or three days, for meat and drink and lodging, and arrayed as richly and as pleasantly as he could. And the day before the King should have come to the Archbishop, to the said manor of (*the*) Moor, which the said Archbishop had purchased, and built it right commodiously[76] and pleasantly, the King sent a gentleman to the said Archbishop, and commanded him to come to Windsor to him; and as soon as he came, he was arrested and impeached of high treason,[77] (*for*) that he should help the Earl of Oxford;

The Archbishop impeached.

[75] Nothing can extenuate the thorough want of faith on the part of King Edward the Fourth. In the present day he would have been utterly despised; for his kingly word was sacrificed whenever he was prompted by hatred, avarice, or revenge. He had entered London through the means of the Archbishop of York, prior to the Battle of Barnet, (see *Fleetwood's MS.* p. 59), and having been guilty only a few days before of the grossest perjury, (see p. 121,) it is to be wondered that the wily Archbishop had suffered himself to be cajoled by the sacred promises of the crafty Edward, who appears never to have scrupled to make use of falsehood and cunning, to accomplish his great object, the utter destruction of the Lancastrian party.

[76] Gale reads: commanding, for commodiously.

[77] "Now to the intent that Edward the King might live in quiet after this man's death, he went about to search all the rebels, that they might be weeded out of the company of men, as pernicious and unprofitable to the public weal. At which time he took the Abp. of York, the brother to the Earl of Warwick, and sent him prisoner to Guisnes, where he long remained in hold, but after dismissed, and died shortly for thought and pensifulness of mind."—(*Hardyng's Contin.* p. 25.)

and anon right he was put to ward. And forthwith Sir William Parr, Knight, and Thomas Vaughan, squire, with many other divers gentlemen and yeomen, were sent to the said manor of (*the*) Moor; and there by the King's commandment seized the said Manor into the King's hands, and all the goods that were therein, which were worth twenty thousand pounds or more, and all other lordships and lands that the said bishop had within England, and all his stuff and riches within all his lordships; and sent the same bishop over the sea to Calais, and from thence to the Castle of Hammes, and there he was kept prisoner many a day; and the King all that season took the profit of the Archbishoprick etc. And anon after, the King broke the said Archbishop's mitre, in the which were full many rich stones and precious, and made thereof a crown for himself. And all his other jewels, plate, and stuff, the King gave it to his eldest son and heir Prince Edward; for the said Archbishop had been Chancelor of England many days, and he and his brothers had the rule of the land, and had gathered great riches many years, which in one day was lost; and all by the high judgement of righteousness (as many men said by him) for his great covetousness, [and] (*which*) had no pity of (*for*) King Harry's men, and was cause of many men's undoing for King Edward's sake, if he might get any good by him.

A.D. 1474.

The manor of the Moor seized, and the Archbishop's property confiscated.

Wherefore *such goods as were gathered with sin, were lost with sorrow.* And also men supposed for cause he was double (*treacherous*) to King Harry, and kept him in London, when he would have been at Westminster; he had a letter sent from King Edward, to keep him out of sanctuary, and he had his charter sent him; where (*as*) had he been a true man to King Harry as the commons of London were, King Edward had not come into London before Barnetfield etc.

The Archbishop thus punished for his treachery to King Henry VI.

Also in the thirteenth year of (*the*) reign of King Edward, Sir John Vere, Earl of Oxford, that withdrew

Earl of Oxford's rebellion.

A.D. 1474. himself from Barnetfield, and rode into Scotland, and from thence into France [a] sailed, and there he was worshipfully received. And in the same year he was in the sea with certain ships, and got great good (*booty*) and riches,[78] and afterwards came into (*the*) west country,

Seizes upon St. Michael's Mount.

and with a subtle point of war, got and entered Saint Michel's Mount in Cornwall, a strong place and a mighty, and can not be geett (*taken*) if it be well victualed with a few men to keep it, for twenty men may keep it against all the world. So the said Earl, with twenty score men save three,[79] the last day of September the year aforesaid, entered first into (*the*) said mount, and he and his men came down into (*the*) country of Cornwall, and had right good cheer of the commons etc.

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[78] "The Earl of Oxford was Saturday at Dieppe, and is purposed into Scotland with 12 ships. I mistrust that work. Item, there be in London many flying tales, saying that there should be a work, and yet they wot not how."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 133.)

"But beloved brother, I recommend me unto you, letting you weet that as for tidings here, the King rideth briskly this day to Northampton-ward, there to be this Easter; and after Easter he purposeth to be much at Leicester, and in Leicestershire. Every man seeth we shall have ado (*a tumult*) ere May pass: Hogan, the prophet, is in theTower; he would fain speak with the King, but the King says he shall not avaunt (*vaunt*) that he ever spake with him."—(*Ibid.* vol. v. p. 51.)

"I heard say, that a man was this day examined, and he confessed, that he knew great treasure was sent to the Earl of Oxford, whereof a 1000£ should be conveyed by a Monk of Westminster, and some say by a Monk of Charterhouse. Item, that the same man should accuse an hundred gentlemen in Norfolk and Suffolk, that have agreed to assist the said Earl at his coming thither, which, as it is said, should be within eight days after St. Dunstan, if wind and weather serve him."—(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 137.)

"As for tidings here, I trow ye have heard, (*on*) your part, how that the Earl of Oxford landed by St. Osyth, in Essex, the 28th of May, save he tarried not long; for if he had, the Earl of Essex rode to him wards, and the Lords Dinham and Duras (*Galliard de Durefort*) and other more, which by likelihood should have distressed him; but yet his coming saved Hogan his head; and his prophecy is the more believed; for he said this trouble should begin in May, and that the King should (*march*) Northward, and that the Scots should make no work, and him battle."—(*Ibid.*)

"Men say that the Earl of Oxford is about the Isle of Thanet, hovering, some say, with great company, some say, with few.—(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 143-45.)

[79] The number is probably exagerated at 397 men. "The Earl of Oxford, in those days when Fortescue was sheriff of Cornwall, took possession of Mount St. Michael with *eighty* men; etc." — (*W. Wyrcestre, Itin.* p. 122.)

The King and his council, saw (*seeing*) that thereof much harm might grow, &c., commanded (*Sir Henry*) Bodrigan chief ruler of Cornwall, to besiege the said mount. And so he did; and every day the Earl of Oxford's men came down under truce, (*to*) speak with Bodrigan and his men; and at the last the said Earl lacked victuals, and the said Bodrigan suffered him to be victualed. And anon the King was put in knowledge thereof, wherefore the said Bodrigan was discharged, and Richard Fortescue, squire for the body, by authority of the King, took upon hand to lay siege to the foresaid mount etc. And so great division arose betwixt Bodrigan and Fortescue, which Fortescue was sheriff of Cornwall etc.; and the said Fortescue laid siege &c. the xx[x]III rd day of December the year aforesaid; and for the most part every day each of them fought with (*the*) other, and the said Earl's men killed divers of Fortescue's men; and sometimes when they had well there fought, they would take a truce for one day and a night, and sometimes for two or three days etc.[80] In the which truce each one of them spoke and communed with (*the*) other. The King and his council, sent unto divers that were with the Earl of Oxford privately their pardons, and promised to them great gifts, and lands, and goods, by the which divers of them were turned to the King against the Earl; and so in conclusion the Earl had not [passynge ane] (*more than*) eight or nine men that would hold with him; the which was the undoing of the Earl. For there is (*a*) proverb, and a saying, that *a castle that speaketh, and a woman that will hear, they be gained both;*—for men that (*have*) been in a castle of war, that will speak and entreat with their enemies, the conclusion thereof

A.D. 1474.

Bodrigan, chief ruler of Cornwall, besieges Mount St. Michael;

superseded by Fortescue, the sheriff,

who bribes the garrison,

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[80] "The Earl of Oxford is still besieged; nevertheless once he issued out, and took a gentleman, and has him within: but now of late he was busy, and one espied him, and shot at him, and struck him in the very face with an arrow. I saw this day the same man, and there I leave him."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 65.)

A. D. 1474. which capitulates February 15th, 1474.

(*is*) the losing of the Castle; and a woman that will hear folly spoken unto her, if she assent not at one time, she will at another. And so this proverb was proved true by the said Earl of Oxford, which was fain to yield up the said mount, and put himself in the King's grace;[81] if he had not done so, his own men would have brought him out. And so Fortescue entered into the said mount, the fifteenth day of February, the year aforesaid, in the which was victuals enough till midsummer after. And so was the Earl aforesaid, (*with*) the Lord Beaumont, two brothers of the said Earl's, and Thomas Clifford, brought as a prisoner to the King, and all was done by their own folly, etc. * * * * * *

(*The End of Dr. Warkworth's MS. Additions to Caxton's Chronicle.*)

JOHN DE VERE, EARL OF OXFORD,

Suffered many and great hardships for his loyalty to the House of Lancaster. The active part he took in the restoration of King Henry the Sixth, rendered it necessary that he should quit the Country after the Battle of Barnet. In the year 1473, *April the* 16*th, he is men-*

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[81] "Men say, that the Earl of Oxford hath been constrained to sue for his pardon only of his life; and his body, goods, lands, with all the residue, at the King's will, and so should in all haste now come into the King; and some men say that he is gone out of the Mount, men wot not to what place, and yet left a great garrison there, well provided in victual, and all other things."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 157.)

"King Edward sent the Earl over the sea, to the Castle of Hammes, where, by the space of twelve years, he was in strong prison, miserably kept, and diligently looked to." — (*Grafton's Chronicle*, p. 714.)

"John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain and Lord Admiral, was An. I. Hen. VII. elected a Knight of the Garter, into stall V. of the King's side, after the Death of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk. He died, Thursday, March 10. Anno IV. R. Hen. VIII. at four o'clock in the morning at Lymington Castle."—(*Harl. MSS.* 235.)

tioned by Sir John Patson, as fitting out an expedition of 12 *Ships for the purpose of going into Scotland. In subsequent letters we find him landing at St. Osyth, May* 28*th; but not having met with encouragement in Essex, he re-embarked, and June the* 3*rd was hovering off the Isle of Thanet. As we have seen he had seized upon Mount St. Michael in Cornwall, a strong place, which could be held by a small garrison. His men being bribed, by promises of pardon and rewards on the part of the King, he was compelled to surrender to Richard Fortescue,* the Sheriff of the County, on the* 15*th of February,* 1474, *having stipulated that his life should be spared. He was committed to the Castle of Hammes† in Picardy, where he remained a prisoner for ten years, and in a letter from Sir John Paston dated the* 25*th of Augt.* 1478, *it is implied, that he was disconsolate and wretched and even attempted to commit suicide. He, however, eventually escaped in* 1484, *and joining the Earl of Richmond, attended him at Bosworth-field; and on the latter becoming King, as Henry VII., he was reinstated in all his honours and estates. He continued to enjoy the confidence and favour of Henry the VIII., and died in the fourth year of that monarch's reign, aged* 84.

"*In* 1485, *Sep.* 27*th, the first year of King Henry VII, he was constituted Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine, for the term of his life. He was Great Chamberlain of England, and Constable of the Tower of London; and he continued in those offices unto the* 10*th of March in the fourth year of King Henry VIII, on which day he died.*"—(*MS. Brit. Mus. Faustina, C. IV. & Otho, E. IX.*)

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* Lingard says Sir John Fortescue was employed in this expedition. Leland, to whom he refers, merely says Fortescue. On Warkworth's authority the name of Richard has been retained, for, as Sir John Fortescue was appointed Sergeant-at-law to Henry in 1430, he must have been upwards of 70 years of age at the period, when his attainder was reversed, in 1473.

† "In all which time the Lady, his wife, might never come to him, or had any thing, but what the people of charity would give her, or what she got with her needle." —(*Stowe*, p. 186.)

Thus the only surviving adherents of the house of Lancaster were, Queen Margaret, confined at Wallingford; the Duke of Exeter, taken out of Sanctuary and imprisoned in the Tower; the Archbishop of York, shut up in the Castle of Guisnes; the Earl of Oxford, a prisoner in the dungeons of Hammes; the Earl of Pembroke, the uterine brother of Henry VI., and his nephew the young Earl of Richmond,† driven by storm on the coast of Bretagne, where they remained under the protection of Duke Francis, in a kind of honourable confinement. Of the less prominent partisans of the Red Rose, many were pardoned; for having now no fear of a rival, since the death of Henry and the Prince of Wales, Edward listened graciously to the petitions for pardon, which poured in from all sides, and reversed several attainders in the next Parliament. Thus he secured to himself the services of several eminent men, particularly of Dr. Morton, successively Master of the Rolls, Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, and Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury; and Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice, author of one of the most celebrated works on constitutional law: "de Laudibus Legum Angliæ."*

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* Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter and great grandson of John of Gaunt, was married to Anne, eldest sister of Edward IV. Upon this reverse in his fortunes she obtained a divorce, and married Sir Thos. St. Leger. The Duke was at that time in confinement. The next year his dead body was found floating in the sea between Dover and Calais.—(*Stowe*, p. 426.)

† Afterwards Henry VII. Edward made many fruitless attempts to get the young prince into his power, and on one occasion sent ambassadors, promising to give him one of his daughters in marriage. The Duke of Bretagne suffered him to depart; but led to believe Edward merely intended to betray him, sent messengers after him, who overtook him at St. Malo's.

EXTRACTS

FROM CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS AND LETTERS

RELATING TO THE

LAST TEN YEARS

OF THE REIGN OF

KING EDWARD THE FOURTH,

A.D. 1473 TO 1483.

THE LAST TEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD IV.

CHAPTER I.

His domestic Habits, courteous Demeanour, and affectionate Care of his Children.

A.D. 1473—1483.

With the submission of the Earl of Oxford the Civil Wars in the reign of Edward the Fourth were entirely suppressed, and from this period the actions of the King ceased to be of that selfish character, which had marked his career from the Battle of Towton to the banishment of the Archbishop of York. In the following extracts the principal points which will strike the reader's attention are. 1. that the Civil Wars, by breaking up the power of the Barons, had given the Middle Classes, consisting of the gentry and mercantile community, a stake in the country which, hitherto, they had never

Fruits of the Civil War: I. Rise of the middle classes.

A.D. 1472. possessed; and consequently that Agriculture and Commerce flourished to a degree,[1] which enabled the King at his death, to leave the nation "which, through civil sedition, had been greatly impoverished, both rich and plenteous:"—and II. that, by rendering England the warehouse, not the workshop, of the world, he encouraged merchants from all countries to settle in his kingdom, who brought with them a taste for Literature and the Fine Arts, which rapidly spread through all ranks of society, with the consequent increase of wealth and knowledge.

(*Hardyng's Chron.* p. 31.)

II. Commercial enterprize encouraged.

Invention of printing.

The introduction of the Art of Printing[2] into England, no doubt, assisted much to foster this taste; whilst the King's natural inclinations lead him to adopt whatever was splendid and costly, either in dress or decoration.[3] Thus the Croyland Doctor tells us, "that at the Christmas festivities he appeared in a variety of most costly dresses,[4] of a form never seen before, which he thought displayed his person to considerable advantage;" and the Lord of Grauthuse, Governor of Holland, an account of whose mission to Edward, immediately after his restoration in 1472, written at the time, has recently been published by Sir Frederick Madden,[5] paints in glowing colours the luxury of the English Court. On his arrival at Windsor, my Lord Hastings received him and led

(*Croyl. Cont.* p. 563.)

The King's expensive tastes.

(*Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 276.)

(*Sir Frederick Madden's Narrative of Lord Grauthuse.*)

[1] "Yet so much talent emerged in his government, amid all his voluptuous relaxations, that the nation increased in strength, riches, intellect, civilization, and literature, during his reign."—(*Turner.*) "Although he found his kingdom greatly impoverished, and almost empty both of men and money, he left it in all things rich and abundant."—(*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 341.)

[2] See note to Warkworth's Chronicle, page 119.

[3] "His thoughts were wholly employed upon the ladies, on hunting, and on dressing. In his summer's hunting, his custom was to have tents set up for the ladies, in which he treated them after a splendid and magnificent manner." (*Commines*, p. 194.)

[4] "The new fashion that he chose for the last state dresses was, to have full wide hanging sleeves, like a monk's, lined with most costly furs, and so borne over his shoulders, as to give his tall figure an air of great grandeur." —(*Croyland, Cont.* p. 563.)

[5] "Narrative of Louis of Bruges, Lord Grauthuse," (whom Edward created Earl of Winchester,) *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. 1835.

him to the far side of the quadrant, (*quadrangle*) to three chambers, where the King was there with the Queen. These apartments were very richly hung with cloth of gold arras; and when he had spoken with the King, who presented him to the Queen's Grace, they then ordered the Lord Chamberlain, Hastings to conduct him to his chamber where supper was ready for him. A.D. 1472. Description of Windsor Castle.

"After he had supped the King had him brought immediately to the Queen's own chamber, where she and her ladies were playing at the marteaux;[6] and some of her ladies were playing at closheys of ivory, and dancing, and some at divers other games: the which sight was full pleasant to them. Also, the King[7] danced with my Lady Elizabeth, his eldest daughter.—In the morning, when Matins was done, the King heard, in his own Chapel,[8] Our Lady-Mass, which was most melodiously chaunted, the Lord Grauthuse being present. When the Mass was done, the King gave the said Lord Grauthuse a cup of gold, garnished with pearl. In the midst of the cup was a great piece of unicorn's horn, to my estimation seven inches in compass; and on the cover of the cup a great sapphire." The unicorn's horn was a preservative from poison.

After breakfast the King came into the Quadrangle. "My Lord Prince, also, borne by his Chamberlain, called Master Vaughan,[9] which bade the Lord Grauthuse welcome. Then the King had him and all his company into

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[6] Marteaux was a game played with small balls of different colours, similar to our marbles; the closheys were ninepins, in which each piece sometimes represented the different state employments.

[7] Edward seems to have been particularly fond of his children; the Lady Elizabeth was then only six years old, and like Henry the Fourth of France, the King did not suffer the presence of strangers to interfere with the endearments of parent and child. In the evening the princess' uncle, the Duke of Buckingham, danced with the little "lady," who appears to have been petted both by father and uncle. In the sequel we shall see with what anxious care he provided for the education of the unfortunate Edward the Fifth, and the marriages of his daughters.

[8] St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.

[9] Sir Richard Vaughan, afterwards imprisoned by Richard III. at Pontefract Castle, where he was beheaded, A.D. 1483.

A.D.1472. Hunt in the Park.

the little Park, where he made him have great sport; and there the King made him ride on his own horse, on a right fair hobby,[10] the which the King gave him."—

Dinner served in the Lodge.

The King's dinner was ordained in the Lodge (*in Windsor Park*). After dinner then they hunted again, and the King shewed his guest his garden and vineyard of pleasure. Then "the Queen did ordain a great banquet in her own chamber, at which King Edward, her eldest daughter the Lady Elizabeth, the Duchess of Exeter,[11] the Lady Rivers, (*and*) the Lord of Grauthuse, all sat with her at one mess; and at the same table, sat the Duke of Buckingham, my Lady, his wife, with divers other ladies, my Lord Hastings, Chamberlain to the King, my Lord Berners, Chamberlain to the Queen, (*the*) son of Lord Grauthuse, and Master George Barthe,[12] Secretary to the Duke of Burgundy, Louis Stacy, Usher to the Duke of Burgundy, George Martigny, (*and*) also certain nobles of the King's own court. There was a side table, at which sat a great view (*show*) of ladies, all on the one side. Also, in the outer chamber sat the Queen's gentlewomen, all on one side. And on the other side of the table, over against them, as many of the Lord Grauthuse's servants, as touching to the abundant welfare (*plenty*), like as it is according to such a banquet. And when they had supped my Lady Elizabeth, the King's eldest daughter danced with the Duke of Buckingham and divers other ladies also."

The rooms richly furnished and carpeted.

"Then, about nine of the clock, the King and the Queen, with her ladies and gentlewomen, brought the

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[10] Hobby, or hunting pony. In Norfolk and Suffolk shooting ponies are still called: hobbies.

[11] The Duchess of Exeter was sister-in-law to the Queen. The Lady Rivers was married to the gallant Sir Anthony Woodville, the Queen's brother, who became Lord Scales in right of his wife, and on the murder of his father in 1468, (see p. 25,) Earl of Rivers, and was executed at Pontefract in 1483. The Duchess of Buckingham was the Lady Katherine Woodville, sister to the Queen.—(See *Hearne's Fragment*, p. 16.)

[12] This Master George Barthe accompanied the Lord Grauthuse, and Sir Frederick Madden conjectures him to be the author of the interesting memoir from which we have so largely quoted.

said Lord of Grauthuse to three chambers of plesance, all hanged with white silk and linen cloth, and all the floors covered with carpets.[13] There was ordained a bed for himself, of as good down as could be gotten. The sheets of Rennes (*cloth and*)[14] also fine fustians; the counterpane, cloth of gold, furred with ermines. The tester and ceiler also shining cloth of gold; the curtains of white sarcenet; as for his head-suit and pillows, they were of the Queen's own ordonnance. In the second chamber was likewise another state-bed, all white. Also (*in*) the same chamber was made a couch with feather beds, and hanged with a tent, knit like a net, and there was a cupboard. In the third chamber was ordained a bayne (*bath*) or two, which were covered with tents of white cloth. A.D. 1472. The state beds described.

"And, when the King and the Queen[15] with all her ladies and gentlewomen had shewed him these chambers, they turned again to their own chambers, and left the said Lord Grauthuse there, accompanied with the Lord Chamberlain (Hastings), which *despoiled* (*undressed*) him, and (*they*) both went together to the bath.—And when they had been in their baths as long as was their pleasure, they had green ginger, divers syrups, comfits, and ipocras, and then they went to bed. And in the morning he took his cup[16] with the King and Queen, Refreshments served in the bath.

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[13] We are told by those who rail at what they call the extravagance of the present day, "that Queen Elizabeth knew naught of carpets, but considered fresh rushes a luxury." Could she so far have degenerated since the days of her grandmother, whose luxuriously furnished rooms would even have satisfied the fastidious taste of the last of the Georges? Indeed, both Edward the Fourth, and George the Fourth seem to have had a love for the elegances of life, far beyond any of the other sovereigns of this country.

[14] These Bretagne cloths were of the finest texture.

[15] The extreme attention lavished by the Queen upon the honoured guest of her husband, is in every way to her credit. This courteous demeanour of the Royal Family had a most beneficial influence on the manners of the age, and more than anything else, served to banish the ill-blood, which had been engendered by the Civil Wars.

[16] The morning's meal was composed of solids, and the "cup" from which it took its name would, no doubt, have frightened Father

A.D. 1472. and returned to Westminster again.—And on St. Edward's day, 13th of October, King Edward kept his royal state at Westminster Palace. And about X of the clock, the forenoon, he came into the parliament in his robes, on his head a cap of maintenance, and sat in his most royal majesty, having before him his lords spiritual and temporal. Also the speaker of Commons parliament, named William Allington, declared before the King and his noble and grave council the intent and desire of his Commons, especially in their commendation of the womanly behaviour, and great constancy of the Queen, he being beyond sea; also the great joy and surety to his land, the birth of the Prince; and the great humanity and kindness of the Lord Grauthuse, then present, shewn to the King when in Holland and Flanders; etc."

Parliament at Westminster 13 Oct. 1472.

Vote of thanks to the Queen, and to the Lord of Grauthuse,

With all due ceremony the King then created his guest Earl of Winchester,[17] the King's secretary William Attcliffe reading aloud the letters patent. Thence proceeding to the Palace of Whitehall accompanied by the King, with the Queen, and the infant Prince borne in the arms of his Chamberlain, Sir Richard Vaughan, they went to the Abbey and offered at the shrine of St. Edward. "Then the King turned down the Choir, where he sat on his throne." The Earl of Winchester, bare his sword unto the time when they went to dinner. The King created (*Richmond*) a new King-at-arms and called him "Guienne;" and "Norroy" was called upon to proclaim the largess of the new Earl, as "Garter" had an impediment in his speech. The day concluded with a "void,"[18] after which the Lord Winchester retired from the Royal presence.

who is created Earl of Winchester.

Mathew. The pegs in the tankard marked the quantity, usually a quart, between each, and it was not uncommon to drink from peg to peg at a single draught, though the beverage was strong ale.

[17] See Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 765.

[18] The "void," or parting cup, from the verb *to voide*, to depart, or go away, in which sense it is used by Chaucer, was served on a tray, called an *avoider*, since corrupted into, "*waiter*."

When Edward was driven from the throne by the confederacy of Clarence and Warwick he had taken shipping at Lynn in Norfolk, "without bag or baggage, without cloth, sack or mail, and perchance with a great purse and little treasure," and indeed in such utter destitution "but to have nothing to give the master of the ship for his passage, but a gown lined with martins." At that time the Easterlings[19] were at war both with England and France, and had numerous war galleys on the seas. Eight of these spying the three ships which contained the fugitive King and his suite, bore down upon him, in the expectation of an easy booty, and chased him to the coast of Friezeland, to a little town called Alcmaer, and because the tide would not allow him to land, he anchored in the roads in shallow water. The Easterlings also cast anchor, as near him as possible, intending to attack him at high-water. "Happily the Lord of Grauthuse, Governor in Holland, for the Duke of Burgundy, chanced to be there, where Edward desired to land, and hearing who he was from the men who had landed, and of the danger he was in from the Easterlings, he warned the latter not to approach him; and going on board the King's ship, he welcomed him and conducted him to Land, and about 500 men with him, amongst whom was the Duke of Gloucester, his brother, who was afterwards King Richard." The Lord of Grauthuse then conducted him to the Hague, where he bore all his expenses till he received the Duke of Burgundy's orders.

A.D. 1472.

(*Hall's Chron.* p. 208.)

(*Commines*, p. 194.)

Cause of the Lord Grauthuse's visit.

(*Commines*, p. 195, 6.)

Edward's gratitude for this prompt deliverance was shown by inviting his preserver over to this country, and creating him Earl of Winchester, in 1472, and to this circumstance we are indebted for the interesting account from which we have given a picture of three days spent in the privacy of the Royal Circle. The

The King's gratitude. (*Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 765.)

[19] The Easterlings were corsairs of the Low Countries and Germany.

A.D. 1472. Manuscript itself is preserved in the British Museum.—(*Bib. Cotton. Jul. Cæs. VI.*)

(*Sir Thomas More*, p. 150, l.) "No prince was so heartily beloved by his people, nor was he so especially loved as at the time of his death, and that even some of the friends of Henry VI. had grown into his favour. He was of a goodly personage,[20] and very princely to behold; of visage lovely; of body mighty; strong and clean made. Howbeit, in his latter days, with over liberal diet, somewhat corpulent and burley, yet not uncomely. Albeit, all his reign he was with his people so benign, courteous and familiar, that no part of his virtues was more esteemed, yet, nevertheless, this quality, in the end of his days, marvelously in him grew and increased."

The King's courtesy and great beauty of person.

(*Fabyan's Chronicle*, p. 512.) "In July 1481," says Fabyan, "the King invited the Mayor and part of the Corporation to a hunt in Waltham Forest, and feasted them with a rich dinner and wine, in a bower of green boughs, and gave them plenty of venison at parting. The next month he sent two harts and six bucks, to the wives of the Mayor and Aldermen, with a tun of wine to drink with them."

(*Contin. to Hardyng's Chronicle*, p. 30.) By his Queen "he had ten children, and of them were left alive behind him Edward, Prince of Wales, and Richard, Duke of York, (and one bastard called Arthur), and five daughters, Elizabeth, Cecily, Anne,

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[20] "This Edward was a goodly man of personage, of statue high, of countenance and beauty comely, of sight quick, broad breasted, and well set, in every other part conformable to his body; of a pregnant wit, of stomach stout, and hault (*high*) of courage; of perfect memory of such things as he conceived in his brain; diligent in his affairs and weighty business, in adventures bold and hardy; against his adversaries fierce and terrible, to his friends liberal and bounteous; having in all his wars most prosperous and lucky success; and not eschewing all pleasure and sensuality, to the which he was by nature most prone unto; for the which cause, and for the lowliness and humanity, that was in him engendered by nature most plenteously, he bore himself homely amongst his private persons, otherwise than the degree or dignity of his Majesty required, wherefore the fame ran that he was poisoned, which was not true."—(*Hardyng's Contin.* p. 31.)

Katherine, and Bridget, which after were married all, saving that Lady Bridget was a nun."

His family, and solicitude for their welfare.

It was for the education of the Prince of Wales, that Edward, with the affectionate solicitude of a fond parent, drew up the following rules, which display part of the best customs of the gentleman of that day:—

Rules for the Prince of Wales's conduct.—(*Sloane MS. Brit. Mus.* No. 3479, *quoted by Sharon Turner*, vol. v. p. 395.)

§ 1. He shall arise every morning at a convenient time, and till he be ready none but Earl Rivers, his chamberlain, or chaplain, to enter his chamber, and one other chaplain to sing mattins, then to go to his chapel or chamber to hear mass.

§ 2. That he hear, every holiday, divine service.

§ 3. That on principal feasts, sermons be preached before him.

§ 4. That he breakfast immediately after mass, and be occupied an hour at his school before he go to meat, and to be at his dinner at a convenient hour, and that to be reasonably served, and his dishes borne by worshipful folks, wearing our livery.

§ 5. That no man sit at his board, but as Earl Rivers shall allow; and that there be read before him noble stories, as behoveth a prince to understand; and that the communication, at all times in his presence, be of virtue, honour, cunning, wisdom, and deeds of worship, and of nothing that shall move him to vice.

§ 6. After his meat, in eschewing of idleness, that he be occupied two hours at his school; and after, in his presence, to be shewed all such convenient disports and exercises, as belong to his estate to have experience in.

§ 7. To go to his even song at a convenient hour; and soon after that to be at his supper.

Rules for the Prince of Wales's conduct.

§ 8. After supper, that he have all such honest disports as may be conveniently devised for his recreation.

§ 9. That he be in his chamber, and for all night; and the travers (*curtains*) to be drawn by nine of the clock, and all persons then from thence to be avoided, except for attendance.

§ 10. That sure and good watch be nightly had and kept about his person for safeguard.

§ 11. That discreet and convenient persons be appointed to give attendance on his person, from his rising to his going to bed.

Of the three sons of Edward and Elizabeth, George, Duke of Bedford, died early and was buried at Windsor. The fate of his two elder brothers, the unfortunate Edward the Fifth, and Richard, Duke of York, has already been noticed. Of his seven daughters, Margaret died young and was buried in Westminster Abbey; and Mary,[21] who had been betrothed to the King of Denmark, died in her 15th year, before her marriage was solemnized, and was buried at Windsor,—Elizabeth, the Princess-Royal, married Henry VII;—Cicely, affianced during her father's lifetime to James, Prince of Scotland, married i.) the Lord Welles, by whom she had two daughters, and ii.) a Commoner of the name of Kyme, by whom she had no issue. She was buried at Quarr, Abbey, near Ryde, Isle of Wight;—Ann, contracted to Philip, of Austria by her father, married after his death, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, by whom she had two sons;—Katherine,

His daughters' marriages.

[21] In the year 1810, when the tomb of George III. and his family was being prepared at the East end of St. George's Chapel, two stone coffins containing the bodies of the Queen and her son George were discovered 15 feet below the surface. Shortly after the coffin of the beautiful Princess Mary was found. A curl of hair, of the most exquisite pale gold colour had insinuated itself through the chinks of the coffin. It was cut off, and is in the finest preservation.

intended by the King for the Infant of Spain, married William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, by whom she had Henry, created Marquis of Exeter, in 1525. BRIDGET died a nun, at Dartford. The QUEEN, who had ever retained her influence over Edward, and to whose feminine attentions to his domestic comfort the happiness of the last ten years of his life must be ascribed, survived him nine years, and died April 10th 1492, and was buried at Windsor. The tomb of Edward the Fourth is said to have been executed by Quintin Matsys. It has the appearance of the most beautiful black lace of the low countries and is composed of a gothic screen between two towers, made of steel. On a flat stone at the foot of the monument is this inscription:

Death of Queen Elizabeth Woodville.

King Edward and his Queen Elizabeth Widville.

CHAPTER II.

His Foreign Policy.

THE high reputation of Edward as a warrior,[1] was sufficient to deter foreign potentates, and more particularly his powerful rival the King of France, from entering into open warfare with him. Accordingly we find, that when in 1473, subsidies on a most liberal scale had been voted for the purpose of enabling him to recover his French possessions, and the new financial measure, called "BENEVOLENCES"[2] had filled his exchequer, Louis, the Eleventh,

A.D. 1473.

Benevolences first collected.

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[1] "He was ever victorious in all the battles where he was present."—(*Habington.*)

[2] "This sort of aid levied after this manner was called by the new name of 'Benevolence,' intimating that private persons had granted it freely and of their own accord. Mean while, these loans raised without the authority of Parliament, were of very dangerous consequence; but as it was to make

A.D. 1474. employed every means to prevent the threatened invasion of his Territories. It is curious to observe the anxiety of the gentry in England to prove their loyalty, in contributing thus voluntarily, to the resources of the King for carrying on the war; and on the other hand with what distaste they viewed the exaction of the subsidies voted by the Parliament. In a letter from William Paston to his brother Sir John, we have a pleasing account of the intended progress of the King into divers Counties in 1474, the motive of which was to raise, more easily by his presence and cheerful address, "benevolences" upon his subjects towards the expenses of his war with France. The County of Norfolk had been particularly pointed out to the King for the riches and hospitality of it's inhabitants, and, as an inducement for the handsome and amorous Monarch to prolong his stay amongst them, the beauty and agreeable behaviour of the women had been peculiarly commended. Thus in the letter alluded to we are told that: "on Monday (*the 21st of March*, 1474) he will lie at the Abbey of Stratford, and so to Chelmsford; then to Sir Thomas Montgomery's; then to Heveningham; then to Colchester; then to Ipswich; then to Bury; then to Dame Anne Wingfield's, and so to Norwich; and there will he be on Palm Sunday eve (*3rd of April*, 1474;) and so tarry there all easter, and then to Walsingham;[3] wherefore ye had need to warn William Gogney and his fellows to purvey (*provide*) them of wine enough; for every man beareth me in hand, that the town shall be drank as dry as York was, when the King was there. Sir, Master Sampson recommends him (*self*) unto you, and he hath

(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 161.)

Beauty of the Norfolk women.

The King's progress.

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war on France there were no murmurs."—(*Rapin*, vol. v. p. 95.)

"An unheard of mode of taxation, that every one by way of Benevolence should give, what he liked, or rather what he did not like! By which means he collected such vast sums, as greatly to exceed any thing seen before, or likely to be seen hereafter."—(*Croyl. Contin.* p. 558.)

[3] "I suppose to pay his devotions to the image of our Lady there."—(*Sir John Fenn.*)

sent you a ring by Edmond Dorman; and besides that, A.D. 1474.
he required me to write unto you, that it were best for you to purvey you of some gentlemanly things against the King's coming, for sure he will bring you guests enough, and therefore purvey you thereafter. (*provide accordingly.*) Also, he sendeth you word, that it is my Lord's mind, that my sister, with all goodly folks thereabout, should accompany Dame Elizabeth Calthorp,[4] because there is no great Lady there about, against the King's coming; for my Lord hath made great boast of the fair and good gentlewomen of the country; and so the King said he would see them sure."

Hall and Holinshed quote a remarkable instance of his popularity and attractive manners. "He asked a rich old lady what she would give him towards the war. 'For thy lovely face,' she replied, 'thou shalt have twenty pounds,' being twice as much as the King expected; whereupon he thanked and kissed her, upon which she doubled the sum she had promised." (*Holinshed and Hall.*)

These benevolences, however, impoverished the country for there was a spirit of emulation in taxing themselves to the utmost, and William Paston in the letter quoted above, urges his brother "to let the Lancashire men," who accompanied the King, "see, that there be gentlemen of so great substance, that they shall be able to buy all Lancashire." "By this method he extorted money so plentifully, as to lower the prices of most commodities, not leaving a sufficient quantity with his subjects to pay for them as they had done before." It will be seen, from the following letter of Margaret Paston, that this was the case in Norfolk; for she could not dispose of her wood though "before the King's coming," she writes, "I might have had chapmen to have bought it a gret (*by the great, or lot,*) for twelve score marks, (*Sir John Fenn*, vol. v. p. 90.) (*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 89.)

[4] "Widow of Sir John Calthorp, and daughter of Roger Wentworth, Esq."—(*Fenn.*)

A.D. 1474. (160£.) and now there will no man buy it a great, because of the great good (*large sums*) that the people is laid to for the King; wherefore we are about to retail it as well as we may, and as well as it can be brought to; and send you word how we shall do, as hastily as I may."

Low price of provisions, Jan. 1474. "As for your barley, in this country, it cannot be sold above 10d. or 11d. (*per comb*) that is the greatest price of barley here, and but (*unless*) it be at a better price, I purpose for to do it malt (*malt it*); and as for money, I could not get yet of Peacock but £3.; for he saith that by then that the outcharges be born, and the reparation of the mill at Winterton, we are like to have little more money, beside the barley. Malt is sold here but for 13d. and wheat 2s. or 26d. at this time, and oats 12d.[5] There is none outload suffered to go out of this country as yet; the King hath commanded that none should go out of this land. I fear me that we shall have right a strange world; God amend it when his will is."

In confirmation of the distaste with which the parliamentary subsidies were viewed, an extract from a letter of John Paston to his brother will be sufficient: "Sir, it is so that my cousin John Bleverhasset[6] is informed that for very certain he is chosen to be one of the Collectors of the Task in Norfolk, whereas in very truth he hath not a foot of land within the shire; wherefore I beseech you, that as hastily as ye may, after sight of this bill, that it may please you to take the labour to com-

(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 49.)

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[5] In the May following prices were lower still: "By my troth, I wot not how to do; the King goeth so near us in this country, both to poor and rich, that I wot not how we shall live, but if (*unless*) the world amend. I neither can sell corn nor cattle to no good preve (*proof*). Malt is here but at 10d. a comb; wheat a comb, 28d.; oats a comb, 10d. and thereof is little to get here at this time."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 107.)

[6] "John Bleverhesset, Blennerhasset, and for shortness often called Harsset, of Ferns, married I. Jane, daughter of Thomas Highham, Esq.; and II. Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Tindal, of Hockwold, Kt. He died in 1510, aged 87."—(*Sir John Fenn.*)

mune with Sir Richard Harcourt, and let him have knowledge that this gentleman hath nought within the shire; and that ye twain may find the means to get him out of that thankless office, for I promise you it encumbereth him evil, and my mistress his wife, and all us his friends here; and if so be that ye and Sir Richard Harcourt may not find the mean betwixt you, that then it may please you to move my Lord Chamberlain with this matter, and so Master Harsset (*Bleverhasset*) prayeth you, and Mistress Jane his wife also, for she liketh nothing by the office. I pray God send you the Holy Ghost among you in the Parliament House, and rather the devil, we say, than you should grant any more tasks." A.D. 1474. The collecting the subsidies a thankless office.

These, however, were not the only means adopted by the King to fill his coffers. One of the first acts of the new parliament, which assembled Oct. 6. 1472, was to attaint the persons and confiscate the estates of his rebels and enemies. To gain the affections of the Clergy, he pardoned several bishops who had been engaged against him in the recent contest. But his expensive tastes, which now, that the engrossing object was a war with France, had somewhat abated, broke out with fresh force after his return from Calais; "and his avarice, which daily increased, prompted him to employ a variety of methods, some of them very oppressive, and others quite unworthy of his station to attain his object. But though he plundered his subjects himself without mercy, he was remarkably severe in punishing private robbers and plunderers, a class of persons always numerous and difficult to manage after a long succession of civil commotion." Amongst those who suffered most severely by the attainder, were the Archbishop of York, and the Earl of Oxford. The former, as has been already noticed in Dr. Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 137, was utterly despoiled and imprisoned in the castle of Guisnes, where he died in want and wretchedness. The latter had stipulated, when surrendering Mount St. Michael, for Other means adopted by the King to fill his coffers. (*Rymer*, vol. xi. p. 715.) (*Hist. Croyl. Contin.* p. 559.) Punishes robbers and plunderers. (*Warkworth*, p. 137, and *Stowe*, p. 426.)

A.D. 1474. (*Hall*, p. 35.)

his life; but his estates were confiscated and himself imprisoned in the Castle of Hammes; "whilst his Countess, sister to the late Earl of Warwick, was reduced to the necessity of earning a scanty subsistence by her needle."

Subsidies granted by Parliament. —(*Prynne's Tower Records*, p. 588.)

In the same parliament "the last day of November the Commons grant to the King 14,000 Archers,[7] to serve the King at their costs, for one year, the same to be levied out of all men's lands, according to a proportion. The Lords Spiritual and Temporal by themselves, grant unto the King, towards the furniture aforesaid, the tenth part of one whole year's revenue, of all and singular their possessions." "In the year following, April the 8th 1473, the commons grant unto the King one fifteen and one disme, except £6000. to be distributed to certain decayed towns." Heavy as these exactions were felt at the moment, that they were levied, it was by them chiefly that Edward was enabled to recover the country from the exhausted state into which it's exchequer had fallen, and ultimately to place it in the enviable position in which he left it at his death.

(*Prynne's Tower Records*, p. 691.)

His commercial treaties.

His Commercial Treaties were dictated by great foresight and talent. He laboured incessantly to make England the warehouse of the World.[8] The Hanse towns,[9]

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[7] "The eighteenth day of July 1473. the Commons grant to the King, one Disme, and one Fifteen, and £51,117. 4*s*. 7*d*. *ob*. *q*. in full payment of the wages for 14,000 Archers granted before, towards the payment whereof every County, City, and Town is severally taxed. The grant is very long."—(*Prynne's Tower Records*, p. 696.)

[8] "In consideration of £23,000. due by the King to the Mayor and Merchants of the Staple, the King by a long act granteth to them a Fifteen as Anno 7 E. 4. tit. 9."—(*Tower Records*, p. 692.)

[9] "The hostility and contention which was between the King and the Merchants of England of the one part, and the Duke of Hanse, or the Stilliards of the other part, from the 21st day of November in Anno E. 4. unto the 19 day of September in Anno 13 E. 4. are utterly appeased, so as every Merchant of either part to the said 19th day, may lawfully require of the other part his own, and a free intercourse between those Countries and Merchants, for ever to be had.

"To which end the King, by his letters Patents, confirmeth to the said Merchants of the Stilliard their old liberties granted to all Merchant strangers, of every Country by name, by King E. I. but after

the most powerful league of merchants ever formed, consisted at one time of no less than 72 of the principal trading cities of Europe, whose general staples were: London, Bruges in Flanders, Bergen in Norway, and Novgorod in Russia. It originated in Bremen, in the year 1164, and probably at that time consisted only of the principal towns of Germany. When their power became at length so great as to be dreaded by the Sovereigns, in whose countries they were established, the number greatly decreased, and at the period of Edward's reign Hamburgh, Bremen, Luebeck, Cologne, Dantzick and Rostock were the chief. During the Civil wars the English had injured the merchants of these towns, and violated their privileges several ways; upon which having obtained letters of marque from their magistrates, they levied war upon their oppressors, which proved destructive to both parties. At length the Civil wars being ended the Hanse towns sent ambassadors to Edward to demand satisfaction for their losses, and to propose a renewal of alliance, to confirm their privileges, and to secure the trade and navigation of the English in the Northern Seas. The Ambassadors were graciously received by the King and all differences ultimately satisfactorily arranged by a congress held at Utrecht for that purpose. Shortly after this, by letters patent the King confirmed the ancient alliance between Richard II. and Don John of Portugal, for them and their successors, receiving similar letters from King Alphonso, bearing date August 30th 147⅔. The differences between the English merchants and the Flemings[10] were, also, ar-

A.D. 1474. The Hanse Towns.—(*Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 739.)

Treaty with Portugal.—(*Ibid.* p. 741.)

The Flemish differences reconciled.

granted by especial name to the Merchants of the Stilliard, by E. II. wherein is to be seen their Customs rated and the King's grant not to raise the same; all which by act of Parliament is confirmed."—(*Ibid.* 693.)

"The house called the Stylehouse, otherwise the Stilliards, in the parish of Allhallows in London, is by authority of Parliament assigned to the Merchants of the Hanse, and to their successors for ever, together with other Tenements to the same belonging, yielding yearly to the Mayor of London £70. and other rents to others."—(*Ibid.* 697.)

[10] "The renovation of the treaties of Truce and Commerce be-

A.D. 1474. ranged in negociating a final Peace with the Duke of Burgundy. A truce was concluded between England and Scotland by the plenipotentiaries of both nations till July 1473, to enable the negociations to proceed.

Truce with Scotland.—(*Rymer*, vol. xi. p. 758.)

Preparations for war with France. A.D. 1474.

Edward now turned his attention to the recovery of his French dominions. In the speech from the throne he stated his intentions, and many eloquent orations assisted the warlike fever; whilst his financial measures, and the loyalty and liberality of Parliament opened the way to a brilliant campaign. Louis XI, the crafty and deceitful King of France had by every means, legal and illegal, diminished the power of the great vassals of the crown, and given the kingly office that superiority in the nation, which it never lost till the death of Louis XVI. His movements were jealously watched by his neighbours, and Edward and Charles of Burgundy had entered into a treaty, offensive and defensive, against him. In 147$\frac{3}{4}$ he appears to have contemplated hostilities, for in a letter of Sir John Paston to his brother, in communicating the news of the day, he writes: "Furthermore men say, that the French King is with his host upon the water of Somme (*in Picardy*),[11] a 60 miles from Calais." And in another letter of the same period: "Men say that the French King, with a great host, is at Amiens, but three score miles from Calais; and if he, or his, rode

(*Rymer*, vol. xi. p. 804.)

(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 125.)

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tween England and Bretagne, which were interrupted during the usurpation of the Earl of Warwick, is dated Sep. 30th 1471."—(*Rapin's Acta Regia*, p. 298.) These differences were, however, not completely reconciled till July 12th 1478, on which day the treaty was signed at Lisle. "This treaty," given in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 67, "might be of singular service for merchants, or for those who would write a History of the Commerce betwixt England and the Netherlands; for in it we find the particular grievances complained of on both sides by the inhabitants of the Netherlands, and by the English Merchants, who kept the Woolstaple of England at Calais; together with the tricks and frauds practised by each party."—(*Acta Regia*, p. 316.)

[11] Louis appears at the conclusion of the truce to have again returned to this position. "The French King men say is coming nigh to the water of Somme, with 4000 Spears, and some men trow (*think*) that he will, the day of breaking of truce, or else before, set upon the Duke's Countries here."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 177.)

before Calais, and I not there, I would be sorry." Whatever were Louis' real intentions they were masked for the time, for Sir John thus writes on the 16th of April, then on his way to Calais; "there was a truce taken at Brussels, about the 26th of March last past, between the Duke of Burgundy and the French King's ambassadors, and Mr. William Attclyffe, for the King here; which is a peace by land and water till the 1st day of April, now next coming, between France and England, and also the Duke's land." A.D. 1474. Truce for one year, March 26, 1474. (*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 133.)

Towards the end of 1474 an embassy was sent over from Louis to Edward, but was not received "into the King's presence,[12] for men say, that the chief of them is he that poisoned both the Duke of Berri, and the Duke of Calabria;" and Sir John adds: "there never was more likelihood that the King should go over sea, this next year, than was now." French embassy in London, 1474.—(*Ibid.* p. 169.)

"The war contemplated by the King was no common war, or a war from motives that were trifling. He seemed determined to reconquer by the sword, what had been wrested by the sword from his predecessor. With the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, who was as much concerned as himself, he at least hoped to repossess Guienne and Normandy, the ancient patrimony of his ancestors. The Constable de St. Pol had pledged (*Acta Regia*, p. 299.) The Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, and the Constable St. Pol join Edward.

[12] "For the better understanding of this curious passage, which reflects honour upon King Edward, both as a sovereign prince and a man, it will be necessary to inform the reader, that in 1472, Louis XI. finding himself drawn into a war with the Duke of Burgundy, in order to bring about a marriage between his brother, Charles, Duke of Berri and Guienne, and Mary the Daughter and heir of that Duke, employed proper persons to destroy his brother, and by that means to extricate him from these troubles. The death of the Duke de Berri was effected by a slow poison, of which he died in May, 1472, aged about 26 years. Mary, the richest heiress of her time, was born in 1457, and by her father, the Duke of Burgundy, was promised in marriage to various potentates, and amongst the rest to Nicholas of Anjou, Duke of Calabria and Lorraine. This prince died in August, 1473, aged about 25, here said by poison, administered by the same hand that took off the Duke de Berri."—(*Sir John Fenn.*) After the death of her father at Nanci, in 1477, she married Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, and died, after a fall from her horse, within 4 years afterwards.

A.D. 1475. himself to deliver up St. Quentin to the English; and the Duke de Bretagne was persuaded to join the League against France. Thus Louis saw himself beset by three powerful enemies, at a moment when his government had become hateful to his most powerful vassals."

(*Commines*, p. 262.) Edward lands in France, June 20 to July 10, A.D. 1475.

These arrangements being completed, Edward passed over to Calais,[13] and entered France in June 1475, "attended by the flower of the English Nobility, being 1500 persons in full armour, and each with several horsemen in their retinue; 15,000 archers on horseback, and a great number of infantry, with artillery. There was not one useless person in the army; and 3000 men besides were to have been landed in Bretagne."

(*Acta Regia*, p. 300.) Sends a defiance to Louis XI. by Garter King at Arms,

"As soon as Edward was arrived at Calais, he sent a herald[14] to declare war against the King of France. Louis returned a very mild answer and bid the Herald tell his master, that the Duke of Burgundy and the Constable de St. Pol would infallibly deceive him. But before he dismissed the Herald, he asked him a great many questions; and the Herald in his answers took occasion to tell him either of his own head, or from some private instruction, that if he had any proposal of peace to make, he must apply to the Lords Howard and Stanley, who had both great interest with the King. Louis, who was a man of great penetration, suspected that the Herald did not say this without a meaning. In the interim, to let the English lords see how liberal he was, he ordered the Herald who came to declare war against

who is bribed by Louis.

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[13] Commines adds, that "whilst Edward was with his army at Dover, the Duke of Burgundy sent him 500 flat-bottomed boats, without decks, well suited for the conveyance of horses, which boats were called '*sentines*;' and notwithstanding this great number, added to all which the King, himself, could command, it took him three weeks to cross from Dover to Calais, which is only 7 miles across."—(p. 264.)

[14] Commines says, "he despatched a single herald from Dover, named Jartiere (*Garter*) who was a native of Normandy. He conveyed a letter of defiance from the King of England, composed in beautiful language, and pure style, which I will never believe was written by an Englishman."—(p. 264.)

him, a present of three hundred crowns for his pocket and thirty ells of velvet to make him a gown." A.D. 1475.

"Edward expected the Duke of Burgundy would come at the head of an army to join him; but though in confidence thereof he was already on the march he heard no news of him, which obliged him at last to send an express to him to know the cause of his delay. The Duke was still employed in the Electorate of Cologne, at the siege of Nuz[15] which he undertook in hopes of making himself master of that place time enough to join the English. But the length of the siege, which held ten months, and his own obstinacy broke all his measures; for while he was untimely bent on an affair of so little consequence, he suffered very great losses elsewhere; the Duke of Austria took the county of Ferrette[16] from him; the Duke of Lorrain ravaged Luxembourg and Lewis XI. seized Roye and Mondidier. At last when he was just upon the point of being master of Nuz, he was so pressed by Edward's importunity that he consented the place should be deposited in the hands of one of the Pope's legates. But his army was in so poor a condition to begin a fresh campaign that he was obliged to put it into quarters of refreshment; after which he went to find out Edward, in order to make an apology for his backwardness."

Edward disappointed by Burgundy's delay,

who continues at the siege of Nuz,

and loses several provinces.

Visits Edward's camp.

Whilst Edward lay in his camp near Peronne ruminating on the unaccountable conduct of the Duke, "the

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[15] "To-morrow I purpose to ride into Flanders to purvey me Horse and Harness, and perchance I shall see the siege of Nuz ere I come again, if I have time. God send me good speed to appoint with the King and my Lord, for such retinue as I should have now in these wars into France; wherefore I pray you in Norfolk, and other places, commune with such as you think likely for you and me that are disposed to take wages in gentlemen's houses, etc."—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 177.)

[16] "The siege of Nuz lasteth still, and the Emperor hath besieged also, not far from thence, a castle and another town in like wise, wherein the Duke's men be."—(*Ibid.*)

"The King's Ambassador, Sir Thomas Montgomery, and the Master of the Rolls be coming homeward from Nuz, and as for me, I think I shall be sick but if I see it."—(*Ibid.*)

A.D. 1475.

Louis sends a herald to the King, August 12th, (*Commines*, p. 273—7 ;)

King of France caused a certain person of no note ('*un varlet, simple serviteur*') belonging to the household of M. de Salles, to be clothed in a Herald's tabard, and having fully instructed him, despatched him to the English camp, to demand a safe conduct for ambassadors, desiring him to address himself for that purpose to the Lords Howard and Stanley. Arrived in the English quarters, with his tabard on his back, he was immediately arrested and conveyed to the Royal tent." Upon being questioned as to the purport of his coming, he replied: "he was charged on the part of the King his master with a message to the King of England, and to the Lords Howard and Stanley." He was then hospitably entertained at dinner in a tent, and upon the King's rising from table, who happened to be dining when the Herald arrived, he was admitted into the King's presence, and told him: "That he was ordered by the King his master to represent to him, that the war between their two kingdoms could not but be destructive to both, and that the mutual commerce (*intercourse*) of the two nations was on the contrary a manifest advantage, which ought to be cherished. Then he excused the countenance given by France to Warwick, affirming that it was not done out of ill will to Edward, but on account of the Duke of Burgundy his master's irreconcileable enemy. He added that the Duke's insincerity was as apparent as the Constable's; but that it was unnecessary to mention this as the King himself was then suffering from the ill effects of it. By this time he must see that he was come into a country where he had neither castles nor friends, and he left it to him to judge whether the conquest of France were as easy as he had been led to believe. The King his master, however, knowing so vast an armament could not be made without great expense, was willing to make him such amends, as should be satisfactory to him; and therefore he demanded a safe conduct for Ambassadors with a train of

who is graciously received.

His speech to the King.

one hundred horse, that they might inform him of his master's wishes; or, if more in accordance with the pleasure of the King of England, that a meeting should take place in some village, situate between the two armies, of Ambassadors from both, the King of France would also grant a safe conduct on his part." A.D. 1475.

This proposal was most acceptable to Edward under the circumstances in which he found himself, and accordingly the Herald was dismissed with a present of four nobles, accompanied by a Herald, on his part, to claim a safe conduct similar to the one he had granted. Next day the King held a great council in his army, wherein it was determined to make a truce with France, on certain conditions, and the Lord Howard, Sir Thomas St. Leger, and Dr. Morton, the Master of the Rolls, (*afterwards Abp. of Canterbury*) were appointed to hold a conference with the French ambassadors betwixt Amiens and Peronne. Their instructions were given them in writing, signed by the King and twenty two Lords, so that they had not power either to add or diminish, and the King of France had nothing to do but to accept the terms, as offered by Edward, or else refuse them. He is dismissed with safe conduct for Ambassadors. The English Ambassadors. (*Acta Regia*, page 301.)

There is no doubt that Edward would not have fallen so easily into the views of the wily Louis, had the Duke of Burgundy kept faith with him and joined him upon his landing in France. To repeated messages sent by the King, twice by the Queen's brother, the Lord Rivers, he had replied that his honour was concerned in the reduction of the fortress of Nuz, and he could not meet the King of England as the repulsed assailant of so inconsiderable a fortification. When he did arrive, he came with but a slender retinue, and on Edward's sending a detachment to occupy the town of St. Quentin the Constable St. Pol, whom the Duke had represented as an ally, fired upon it from the Walls. The King no longer able to check the expression of his disappointment Reasons for Edward's compliance. The Constable St. Pol's treachery. (*Lingard*, vol.iii.p.551.)

A.D. 1475. exacted from the Duke a promise to return in a short time at the head of a numerous army.

Louis took advantage of this circumstance, and the success of his measures equalled his expectations. He appointed the Bastard of Bourbon, the Admiral of France, the Lord St. Pierre, and the Bishop of Evreux, surnamed Heberge, to meet the English Ambassadors. The Treaty was concluded on the 29th of August, on the terms that Edward had proposed it, without any alteration. These were I. That Louis should pay the King, within a fortnight, 75,000 crowns, and from thenceforward 50,000 crowns yearly,[17] in two payments, as tribute, during the life of the two Kings. II. That the King of France should wed his son, the Dauphin, to the Princess Elizabeth, the King's eldest daughter, and should allow his said daughter-in-law, 60,000 livres a year. Upon these two conditions, the Ambassadors were empowered to promise in the King's name, that he would return into England with his troops, immediately after the receipt of the 75,000 crowns, and sign a treaty of alliance against the rebellious subjects of the two Kings, and also sign a truce for seven years.

The French Ambassadors.

(*Acta Regia*, p. 301.)

The terms proposed by Edward.—(*Rapin*, vol. v. p. 99.)

Hearing of the intended peace the Duke of Burgundy hastened to Edward's camp to ward off the blow this would be to his interests. He arrived too late, the truce was signed, and all the consolation he received was the knowledge that he was included in it. Not having been asked for his concurrence by Edward, he stood out for some time, but at last accepted a separate truce offered him by Louis, for nine years. The Duke de Bretagne was also included in the truce, and on the

The Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne included in the Truce.

(*Commines*, p. 283.)

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[17] The papers relating to this treaty will be found in the 12th volume of Rymer, p. 14 to 20. The 50,000 crowns were to be paid in London at Easter and Michaelmas, and the Bank of the Medicis guaranteed the payment, p. 20. These payments were regularly made up to 1482, the last receipt bearing the date of August 25th in that year.

French King earnestly pressing Edward to desert his ally he replied that "he would, on the contrary, defend him by every means in his power."[18] The Constable St. Pol met with a just retribution for the double part he had played. He was forsaken by all, and forced to retire into the country of the Duke of Burgundy, upon the faith of a safe conduct, in defiance of which, nevertheless, he was delivered up to Louis, and immediately beheaded. A.D. 1475. (*Ibid.* p.349.) Constable St. Pol beheaded.

The Duke of Burgundy, ever restless and greedy after fame, plunged into needless hostilities with the Swiss, and lost in one year three successive battles, in the last of which, at Nanci, January 15th 1477, he was killed. The consequences of this event will be referred to hereafter, when considering the domestic Quarrels of Edward, and his brothers. Death of the Duke of Burgundy.

But to return to the French Treaty, Louis stipulated in addition to pay Edward 50,000 crowns as the ransom of the unfortunate Queen Margaret, and that all differences between the two Kings should be submitted to four arbitrators:—the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Clarence on the part of Edward; and the Archbishop of Lyons, and the Count Dunois on his own part; who should be bound to pronounce their award, within the course of three years. After the Peace had been signed an interview was arranged between the two monarchs[19] at the bridge of Pecquigni, Louis ransoms Queen Margaret. Meeting of Edward IV. and Louis XI. at Pecquigni. —(*Wraxall's House of Valois*, vol. i. 195.)

[18] "In 1481 Edward made an alliance with the Duke of Bretagne, on condition of receiving from him the 50,000 crowns per annum, if differences with Louis should suspend his payments; and he engaged to obtain of Louis a truce for the Low Countries, or to make war."—(*Turner*, vol. v. p. 387.)

[19] "Here the monarchs met each other, shook hands through the grating, and swore on the Missal to observe their engagements. They then entered into familiar conversation; and Louis incautiously invited his new acquaintance to Paris. Edward, eager in the pursuit of pleasure, did not refuse; and it required all the address of the French monarch to postpone the intended visit to an indeterminate period. The English Kings, he afterwards observed to his confidents, had been too much in the habit of visiting France; he liked them best on their own side of the water."—(*Lingard*, vol. iii. p. 553.)

A.D. 1475. near Amiens. "A grated barrier was erected on the middle, and two boxes raised for the purpose. Louis, whose pliant genius accommodated itself to every situation of politics, and who thought no submission too mean for the attainment of his views, flattered the English Prince, invited him with all the apparent cordiality of friendship to his capital, and at the same time secured by presents the principal nobles in his interests."[20]

Louis flatters Edward and bribes his ministers.

Edward re-embarks for England, Sept. 4, 1475.

The immediate conditions of the treaty having been faithfully performed Edward commenced his march to the coast, and thus ended this expedition, for the undertaking of which he had been collecting money from his subjects in England, by subsidies and benevolences for two years. Sir John Paston, who accompanied him, wrote from Calais, on the 11th of September: "Blessed be God, this voyage of the King's is finished for this time, and all the King's host is come to Calais as on Monday last past; (*Sep. 4th*) and as this day many of his host be passed the sea into England again, and in especial my Lord of Norfolk and my brethren."

(*Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 113.)

With this expedition the Wars of Edward may be considered to have ended; for the rupture with Scotland in 1480, and the breach with France in 1483, the latter of which led to the ultimate discomfiture of the House of York, and the exaltation of the Family of Tudor to

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[20] Louis, to escape from this dangerous war, secured the ministers of Edward by bribes, who did not hesitate to follow the example of their master. Amongst them he divided 16,000 crowns per annum as pensions; and Commines mentions the Lords Howard and Cheney, the Marquis Dorset, the Lord Chamberlain, the Chancellor and Master of the Rolls, as participating in the booty. To Lord Howard, besides his pension, Louis gave, in two years, above 24,000 crowns; and to Lord Hastings, 1000 crowns in plate, and a pension of 2000 crowns a year. He affirms that Edward's Lord Chamberlain, Chancellor, Admiral, Master of the Horse, and other great Lords, were all pensioners at the same time to the King of France. The Lord Hastings alone refused to give a receipt for his pension. "If you wish me to receive it," he said, "you may put it into my sleeve; but you shall have neither letter, nor acquittance for it, from me." "The other receipts," adds our author, "are still in the Office of Accounts, at Paris."

the Throne, more properly belong to the Reign of Richard the Third. A.D. 1476.

CHAPTER III.

His Domestic Policy.

"THE English is not an absolute but a limited Monarchy, arising from the free election of men for their own safety and convenience, in which the King can neither make laws, nor take the goods of his subjects without their consent." The Constitutional manner of obtaining the sanction of the country was through the parliament, and Edward invariably "had thanks given to the Commons, by the King's commandment, for the subsidies they granted, before each prorogation." On his restoration in 1471, an act was passed "that upon urgent cause of the King's moving, the King may at any time before the day appointed for the reassembling of Parliament, call and reassemble the said Parliament, sending forth writs 20 days before to proclaim." We have seen in the previous chapter, that the heavy taxes, subsidies and benevolences had impoverished the country to that degree, that no buyers could be found for the common necessaries of life. These taxes had been levied for the popular measure, the recovery of the French Provinces of the crown, which had been wrested from the grasp of his predecessor. Great[1] therefore was the disappointment felt by the army and people "who openly murmured at the avarice of the King, and threatened with public vengeance the ministers, who had allowed themselves to be bribed by the French King. They

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.—(*Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angl.*)

(*Tower Records.*)

(*Ibid.*)

(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 89 and 107.)

(*Croyland Cont.* p. 559.) Discontent and disorders on the close of the war,

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[1] See Lingard's History, vol. iii. p. 555, from whom we have copied this account, admirably abridged from the Monk of Croyland.

A.D. 1476. were, however, carefully watched, and many severely punished for the imprudence of their language. Others, as soon as the army was disbanded, formed associations, extorted money by violence, and threw several counties into confusion by repeated robberies and murders. To suppress these disorders the King directed the laws to be strictly enforced, accompanied the judges in their circuits, and inexorably refused mercy to every delinquent, whatever might have been his station or services. But the dissatisfaction of the people supplied a source of deeper disquietude. It was evident that they wanted but a leader to guide their efforts, and that the imposition of new taxes would infallibly goad them to insurrection. Hence it became the great object of the King's policy to provide for the expenses of his household, and of the government, without laying any additional burthen on the nation. With this view he ordered the officers of the customs to exact the duties with severity, extorted frequent tenths from the clergy, levied large sums for the restoration of the temporalities of abbots and bishops, resumed most of the grants lately made by the crown, and compelled the holders of estates, who had omitted any of the numerous minutiæ of the feudal tenures, to compound by heavy fines, for the rents which they had hitherto received. Neither did he disdain the aids which might be derived from the transactions of commerce. His ships were annually freighted with tin, wool, and cloth; and the merchandise of the King of England was publicly exposed to sale in the ports of Italy and Greece. In a short time he became rich; though individuals might complain, the nation was satisfied; and men grew insensibly attached to a prince, who could support the splendour of the throne without making any demands on the purses of his subjects." To understand the Commercial Policy of Edward it will be necessary to consider the principal resources of the country, and to point out the means the King adopted in carry-

(*Lingard*, vol. iii. p. 555.) suppressed by the King's vigorous measures.

THE REMISSION OF TAXES

effected by enforcing the customs, etc.

and trading himself as a merchant.

ing out his views to render London the great mart of Europe. A.D. 1476.

I. Wool had always been one of the staple commodities of England, and particularly the sheep of the western Provinces were considered to yield a finer quality than any other. In the third year of the King's reign he had "granted a licence for certain Cotswold[2] sheep to be transported to Spain, as people report, which have there so multiplied and increased, that it hath turned the commodity of England much to the Spanish profit, and to the no small hindrance of the gain, which was beforetimes in England raised of wool." To meet this evil various acts were passed, and Edward encouraged the trade himself by shipping large quantities both of the raw and manufactured article to Italy and Greece. He had several ships that were his own private property, and following the example of the Earl of Warwick, who had in a great measure recovered the dominion of the sea, which had been lost in the long inglorious reign of Henry the Sixth, "he sometimes used them in the protection of the trade of his subjects, and at other times employed them in trade, as a merchant, which contributed not a little to his great wealth." II. The Woollen manufacture was much improved, and, in consequence, greater quantities of woollen cloths were exported, than at any former period. III. Corn had also since the year 1425, been largely exported, and the trade protected by Royal privileges. In 1463, the Easterlings,[3]

Wool.

(*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 266.)

(*Croyland Cont.* p. 559.)

(*Henry*, vol. x. p. 245.)

Woollen Goods.

Corn.

[2] "Has the late Merino breed, introduced into this country and France from Spain, proceeded from these."—(*Turner*, p. 310.)

[3] It is a curious fact here recorded, that a free trade in corn had nearly proved the ruin of the Agricultural interest in the fifteenth Century. In consequence of the large importations of corn by the Easterlings in 1463, the prices were :—

"*In London :*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Wheat, per quarter	0	2	0
Barley, ditto .	0	1	10
Peas, ditto .	0	3	4
Oats, ditto .	0	1	2
In Norfolk :			
Wheat, ditto .	0	1	8
Barley, ditto .	0	1	0
Malt ditto .	0	1	8
Oats, ditto .	0	1	0

whereas in 1460, wheat was 8s."—(*Fleetwood's Ch. Pr.* p. 112.)

A.D. 1476. (*Statutes*, 3 Ed. IV. cap. 2.)

or Merchants of the Steel-yard, by importing large quantities, had greatly reduced the price of that commodity, so that the English Farmer was in danger of being ruined. The Country members of the House of Commons complained, and to prevent the serious injury thus threatened, it was enacted "that when the quarter of wheat did not exceed the price of 6s. 8d.; rye, 4s. and barley 3s. no person should import any of these three kinds of grain, upon forfeiture thereof." The average price of a quarter of wheat at this period "appears to have been 5s. which multiplied by 10s. produces 50s. which is not considered a very high price at present." By the same calculation a quarter of wheat at 6s. 8d. would be equivalent to 3*l.* 6s. 8d.[4] of our money, and all wheat imported when the market price was less, was forfeit to the crown; and not allowed, as at present, to remain in bond, a measure which has at length proved itself equally ruinous to the grower and importer. In Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, p. 98 to 113, the reader will find the price of ANIMAL FOOD etc. from the year 1401 to 1500, from which the following averages may be drawn:—An ordinary cow, 7s.—a calf, 1s. 8d.—an ox, 13s. 4d.—a sheep, 2s. 5d.—a hog, 2s.—a goose, 3d. IV. LIQUORS were cheaper, in proportion, than either corn or butcher's meat, for: ALE, cost 1½d. per gallon, and CLARET, 1s. per gallon. The act which regulated the price of the former, which, before the introduction of tea and coffee, formed as necessary an article as bread itself, ordains that "when a quarter of barley was sold at 2s. then Ale might be afforded 4 quarts for

CORN LAWS for the protection of the farmer.

(*Henry*, vol. x. p.272.)

(*Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum*, p. 98—113.)

ANIMAL FOOD.

ALE AND WINE.

[4] To understand this calculation, "we have only to reflect: I. that one nominal pound sterling, in the 15th Century, contained as much silver as two pounds contain at present; and therefore a person, who had then an income of £10 a year, had as much silver to expend as one who hath now an income of £20 a year; and,

II. that the same quantity of silver, suppose a pound weight, would then have purchased as many of the necessaries of life as five times that quantity, or five pounds weight of silver, will purchase at present."—(*Henry*, vol. x. p. 271.)

1d. And when Barley was at 2s. 6d. then Ale was to be 7 quarts for 2d. and so to increase and decrease after the rate of 6d. the quarter." A.D. 1476.

V. Inland manufactures were protected by prohibiting the importation of similar articles, wherever parliament considered the prohibition beneficial. Thus A.D. 1483, upon the petition of the Manufacturers of London and other towns, representing the great damage they sustained by the importation of the articles they manufactured, an act, embodying these prohibitions, was passed against the importation of: "girdles; harness, wrought for girdles; points; leather laces; purses; pouches; pins; gloves; knives; hangers; taylors' shears; scissars, and irons; cupboards; tongs; fire-forks; gridirons; stock locks; keys; hinges; garnets; spurs; painted glass; painted papers; painted forcers; painted images; painted cloths; beaten gold and silver, wrought in papers, for painters; saddles and saddletrees; horse-harness; boots; bits; stirrups; buckler-chains; latten nails, with Iron shanks; turners; hanging candlesticks; holy water stops; chaffing dishes; hanging-leavers; curtain-rings; wool-cards; roan-cards; buckles for shoes; shears; broaches for spits; bells; hawks-bells; tin and leaden spoons; wire of latten and iron; iron candlesticks; grates; and horns for lanthorns." Inland Manufactures, protected.

VI. In that curious tract "*the Prologue of English Policie*" contained in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages and Discoveries, etc., we have a contemporary account of the commodities imported into England by the merchants of different countries, from which we gather that *Spain and Portugal*, supplied us with: figs, raisins, wine, oil, soap, dates, liquorice, wax, iron, wool, wadmote (*prepared woad*), goatfell, redfell, saffron, and quicksilver:—*Bretagne:* wine, salt, crest-cloth, (*linen*), canvass:—*Germany*, *Prussia*, and the *Hanse Towns:*—*corn*,[5] Imports. (*Hakluyt.*)

[5] These articles were afterwards prohibited. Corn was not allowed to come in unless wheat was 6s. 8d. the quarter.

A.D. 1476. iron, steel, copper, osmund (*a plant*), bowstaves,[6] boards, wax, pitch, tar, hemp, flax, peltry,[6] thread, fustian, buckram, canvass, and *wool-cards:*[5]—*Genoa:* gold, cloth of gold, silk, cotton, oil, black pepper, rock allum, and woad:—*Venice*, *Florence* and the rest of *Italy:* spices, and grocery wares, sweet wines, sugar, drugs, with

(*Hakluyt.*)

> "Apes and japes, and marmusits tayled,
> And riflis and triflis that little have 'vayled."

DISCOURAGEMENT OF MACHINERY.

VII. To find employment for the poor has always been the most difficult task of statesmen. Throughout his reign Edward had been popular with the lower orders. His affability and courteous demeanour to them in peace, his sharing their toil, perils, and rations in war, and above all his careless and unflinching bravery, rendered him the idol of the working classes. Finding their manual labour superseded in the manufacture of an article of great consumption by the introduction of Machinery, an act was passed in the twenty-second year of his reign (*Statutes*, 22 Ed. IV.) to prevent the employment of *Fulling Mills*, "which, by the subtle imagination of man, work the destruction of the original makers of hats and bonnets by man's strength, that is with hands and feet," and accordingly the use of this *mechanical* contrivance in the said manufacture was prohibited. The preamble to another act shows the spirit of the times in providing for the poor, and runs thus: "And for that Artificers and other poor people, labouring for their living in divers occupations, have competent gain; and to the satisfaction of them and their households, live without miserable and intollerable poverty, be it enacted," etc.

How much at variance was the public opinion of that day with the Science of Political Economy of the 19th

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[6] Osmund, a plant used in Medicine, sometimes found in England."—(*Miller.*)

Peltry is interpreted by Richardson "as things as common as the wool or hair of a skin or hide; (perhaps) the refuse of a skin-yard." It probably here means merely undressed hides.

Century! Machinery, which, in its rapid strides in our time, promises to supersede the manual labour of the poor, in every occupation, from the wheeling a barrow to the mysteries of watchmaking and printing, and which daily sacrifices the infant of a few years and its squalid parent to a premature grave, was looked upon in "the cruel and ferocious age" of the Plantagenets as the demon of future misery and want. A.D. 1476.

The Merchant King made trade an honourable calling, and there are few of our proudest nobles, who do not trace their origin to its followers. To Edward the Third, who has justly been called "the Father of English Commerce," we are indebted for that sound policy, which enabled the merchants and manufacturers of England to amass by the silent operations of art and trade, those treasures which would otherwise have been quite dissipated in the struggles for foreign conquest and dominion, in which this country had been engaged for more than a century. But Edward the Fourth, improving the theories of his ancestor, amassed riches as a trader himself, by which he was enabled to defray the expenses of his Government, without calling upon his subjects for fresh subsidies. It is in reference to this, that the old Chronicler says: "that he had left all gathering of money (which is the only thing that withdraweth the hearts of Englishmen from their prince) nor any thing entered he in hand, by which he should be driven thereto." The riches of the English merchants,[7] in his reign, enabled Edward a merchant. (*Grafton*, p. 757.)

[7] "William Taylor, late Mayor, gave the city of London certain tenements, for the which the city is bound to pay for ever, at every fifteenth granted to the King, for all such as shall dwell in Cordwainers' Street Ward, rated at 12d. a piece, or under."—(*Stowe*, p. 183.)

"Sir John Crosby, late Sheriff, built Crosby Place in London. He gave 300 marks to repair his Parish Church of St. Helens; to poor householders 30£. and contributed to the repairs of London Wall, the tower on London bridge, etc."—(*Ibid.* 184.)

"Edmond Shaw, late Mayor, newly built Cripplegate from the foundation, which gate in old times had been a prison, whereto the citizens and others, as were arrested for debt, and like trespasses were committed."—(*Ibid.* 189.)

"Thomas Hill, (afterwards Mayor) built the Conduit in Grace (*Church*) Street."—(*Ibid.* 191.)

A.D. 1476. English merchants wealthy.—(*Anderson's Commerce*, vol. i. p. 271.)

them at their individual costs to erect many splendid buildings for the use and ornament of their native cities, both in London and elsewhere. William Canning, who was five times Mayor of Bristol, was perhaps the first merchant of the day, and a great benefactor to that city. For some misdemeanour in trade Edward took from him at once 2470 tons of shipping, amongst which there was one ship of 900 tons, one of 500, and one of 400, the rest being smaller. As this anecdote is inscribed upon his tomb, we may naturally suppose there was nothing dishonourable in the act, which caused the confiscation.

(*Prologue of English Policy*, p. 197.)

The great fairs of Brabant were frequented by merchants from all parts of the world, but the English were the greatest buyers and sellers.

Chartered Companies. Hanse Towns.

The Hanse towns,[8] which had been at war with both England and France, had sent ambassadors to Edward on the conclusion of the Civil wars in 1472, and all their grievances were redressed at the Congress of Utrecht in 1474. They enjoyed great privileges, being exempt from all subsidies, fifteenths and tenths, and were not subjected to the additional duties imposed from time to time, on goods exported and imported, paying only the original small customs agreed upon at the time of their first establishment. They had Factories on the Eastern coast of England, besides the Steel-yard in London, the principal of which were at Lynn, in Norfolk; and Boston, in Lincolnshire.

Merchants of the Staple.

The Merchants of the Staple, originally composed of Foreigners, had by degrees admitted several Englishmen into their corporation. They were strictly bound by their charter to carry all exports to the Staple at Calais; and to land them elsewhere was made felony by act of Parliament. They must have been at this period in a flourishing condition, for they paid customs in one year, upon wool, woolfells, woollen cloths, leather, tin and lead,

(*Anderson's Commerce*, vol. i. p. 276.)

[8] See p. 160, and note [8].

exported, no less than £68,000, (or £136,000 of our money; equivalent to £680,000 of present value). A.D. 1476.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF ST. THOMAS, established about the end of the thirteenth century was incorporated by royal charter in 1406. Originally it was formed for the exportation of woollen cloths only; but, being composed of English and Irish subjects it was favoured both by the crown and the nation at large, and ultimately engrossed the whole of the trade of the merchants of the Staple. BROTHERHOOD OF ST. THOMAS. (*Anderson*, vol. i. p. 233.)

These were the principal chartered Companies of Merchants in the Reign of Edward the Fourth, resident in London; but BRITISH FACTORIES were established in several of the principal cities of Europe. To each of these Factories was attached a governor,[9] whose office and power seem to have been similar to those of our modern Consuls, which name they assumed in the Reign of Richard III. A.D. 1483, when Lorenzo Strozzi was appointed English consul in Pisa. BRITISH FACTORIES ABROAD.

The natural indolence and love of pleasure of the King led to the establishment of one of the most useful and beneficial institutions of civilized life. "During the Scottish campaign, in order to enable the Duke of Gloucester to be in constant communication with his Royal brother, POSTS were first established in England. Horsemen were placed at the distance of *Twenty* miles from each other, on the road from Scotland to London. They delivered the Despatches from one to another, which by this means journied at the rate of 100 miles per day." THE POST ESTABLISHED. (*Croyland Contin.* p. 571.)

The rigid and indiscriminate enforcement of the laws, against all transgressors, of whatever rank or station, had become of the utmost importance to the security of property. For upwards of Seventy years of civil strife, AUTHORITY OF THE COURTS RESTORED.

[9] In the "Notice sur Colard Mansion," by Mons. Van Praet, p. 89, is a curious document dated 1469 in which William Caxton, the first English Printer, is proved to have held such an appointment at Bruges, being termed: "*Maistre et Gouverneur des Marchands de la Nation d'Angleterre.*"

A.D. 1476. persons in the upper ranks of society had been led to consider themselves as not amenable to the civil tribunals of the country. To check this disposition by all means in his power, and to restore the authority of the courts, Edward accompanied the judges on the circuits, and inexorably refused mercy to all delinquents, when convicted. Mr. Sharon Turner has given the following instances of lawless aggression committed by the higher classes, from 1410 to 1477, which will be found in a note at page 418, vol. III. of his History of the Middle Ages.

Instances of lawless violence; from the Parl. Rolls.

An abbot, having been three years in possession of his abbey, was ousted forcibly by another, who had obtained the Pope's grant of it over his head. The dispossessed abbot, with his brother and forty friends, armed from head to foot, attacked the other; shot at him several barbed arrows to kill him, wounded him and three of his followers, and took away his jewels, plate and property.—(*Rolls, Parl.* 4, p. 28.)

The prior and canons of Bernewell, claiming the tenants of Chesterton as their bond ceorles, who denied their right of slavery, six priests and canons, at the instigation of another priest, laid in wait for one of the resisting tenants, on the King's highway, beat and wounded him almost to death, took away his books and bills, and kept him in prison seven years: the marks of his wounds still remaining when he petitioned Parliament for relief.—(*Ib.* p. 61.)

The Oxford students robbers and marauders.

It was stated to Parliament, that a great number of scholars and clerks of Oxford, armed and arrayed for war, often dispossessed and ousted many persons of the contiguous counties of Oxford, Berks, and Buckingham, of their lands and tenements, so that their owners could not live on them.—(*Ib.* 131.)

Sir John Talbot's conduct in Herefordshire.

Another petition complained, that in Herefordshire, even before the civil wars, besides divers extortions, oppressions and murders, various persons were lawlessly

deprived of their lands and goods, and their women and children carried off and kept in dungeons, till they ransomed themselves. Sir John Talbot, his brother Sir William, and 49 other Persons are named as pursuing these practices.—(*Ib.* p. 254.)

The Cambridge students exact "black mail."

In Cambridge, its county, and in Essex, several persons sent orders to many people, commanding them to put great sums of money in certain places, or their houses should be burnt. Many mansions were robbed and destroyed accordingly. The Irish, Welsh and Scotch Scholars at the University, are declared to be the authors of these atrocities.—(*Ib.* p. 358.)

The Midland Counties.

In 1430 the House of Commons called the attention of the government to the murders, rapes, robberies and burnings, that pervaded the Counties of Salop, York, Nottingham, Derby and Sussex.—(*Ib.* p. 421.)

Forced marriages.

A lady of quality's house was attacked by a gentleman, with an armed party, who forced an entrance at five in the morning, carried her away from her bed, in her linen and kirtle only; took her to a church and insisted on the priest marrying her. She refused; he menaced. The priest read the ceremony in spite of her resistance; and she was taken to the wild and desolate part of Wales.—(*Ib.* pp. 497-8.)

In 1439, another lady of distinction complained of her late husband's great friend, who had undertaken to conduct her to her sick mother. On the way, an armed ambush, he had secretly provided, started into the road, smote her on the arm, and beat down her servant. Her friend pretended to relieve her, but it was only to carry her to the marshes of Wales, where he kept her without any meat or drink but a little whey, till she was nearly dead, that she might consent to marry him. On her refusal, she was put into a dungeon at Glamorgan and threatened to be transported to the Snowdon mountains. Though she was pregnant she was forced to a church;

she persisted in her refusal; and notwithstanding her outcries was taken off.—(*Rolls*, *Parl.* 5, p. 15.)

The Deputy of Cornwall attacked in his court, and murdered.

In 1472, as the deputy of the duchy of Cornwall was sitting on the bench, holding its legal court, a gentleman who had malice against him for the office, suddenly with 14 armed men attacked and grievously wounded him and his servants; tore the official rolls, and robbed and imprisoned him without relief that he might bleed to death, till they had compelled him to give the release and pecuniary bonds which they desired. After they had let him go, the same person procured others to waylay him at a fair; killed him, clove his head into four pieces, and cut off one of his legs and arms and head, and stripped his body of all his money.—(*Ib.* 6, p. 35-7.)

Yorkshire murders.

In the same year, as another person was travelling in Yorkshire, three brothers, for some grudge, suddenly thrust at him with a spear; and when he had fallen from his horse, with their swords they smote off both his hands and one of his arms and hamstrung his legs; and left him bleeding and dying, taking away his armour. They then endeavoured to get into the Duke of Gloucester's service, to have his protection against all legal consequences.—(*Ib.* p. 38.)

Sir John Asheton's house besieged.

About the same time as Sir John Asheton, with his lady and family and friends, were at his manor house, she then in child-bed, a squire, at the head of 200 persons in arms and sounding their horns and trumpets at two in the morning attacked his fortified house; broke down the walls, and, with fire that they had brought with them in a salette set fire to the gates. To save his wife's life, and stop the outrages, he was compelled to come forth and submit to them. They carried him to Pomfret Castle and extorted from him a bond of 1,000£.—(*Ib.* p. 51.)

Cornish aggressions.

As a Cornish gentleman, with his wife and family, were going on a pilgrimage, they were attacked by ten

others with bows and arrows, swords and bills, acting under the orders of a neighbouring gentleman. They escaped much wounded, but were afterwards again assailed by them, when reinforced by 30 others, a part of whom afterwards assaulted and plundered his mansion.—(*Ib.* p. 54.) A.D. 1477.

In 1477 a gentleman headed 24 persons, by the command of the duke of Clarence, broke into a lady's house, and carried her off violently to Bath; took all her jewels and money; separated her from all her servants and imprisoned her; and then caused her to be indicted on an absurd charge of contriving the death of the duchess.—(*Ib.* p. 173.) The Duke of Clarence.

Even official men used their power to give effect to their rapacity. The inhabitants of the Isle of Wight complained to Parliament, that John Newport, the steward of the isle, though he had but ten marks a year from his office, and had no other livelihood yet kept an household and a countenance like a lord, with as rich wines as might be; naming himself Newport the gallaunt, or Newport the rich. To maintain this style, he so acted that the country daily cursed him, that ever he came there.—(*Ib.* 5, p. 205.) John Newport Steward of the Isle of Wight.

In cases of disputed titles to property the sword was appealed to in preference to the uncertainty of the law, and as an illustration of the manners of the period, two curious letters preserved in the Paston Correspondence, respecting the *private* siege of Caister, by the Duke of Norfolk for such a purpose, may not be unacceptable to the reader:— Settlement of a disputed title by arms instead of law.

"*To Sir John Paston, Knight.*

I greet you well, letting you weet that your brother and his fellowship stand in great jeopardy at Caister, and lack victuals, and Dawbeney[10] and Berney be dead and Siege of Caister. MARGARET PASTON'S LETTER TO HER SON.

[10] "This John Dawbeney, whose death is here mentioned, was a gentleman of a good family in the County of Norfolk, and was pro-

Siege of Caister.

divers other greatly hurt; and they fail Gunpowder, and Arrows, and the place (*is*) sore broken with guns of the other party, so that, but (*unless*) they have hasty help, they be like to lose both their lives and the place, to the greatest rebuke to you, that ever came to any gentleman; for every man in this country marvelleth greatly, that ye suffer them to be so long in so great jeopardy, without help, or other remedy.

The Duke[11] hath been more fervently set thereupon, and more cruel since that Writtil,[12] my Lord of Clarence's man, was there, than he was before; and he hath sent for all his tenants from every place, and others to be there at Caister, on Thursday next coming, that there is then like to be the greatest multitude of people, that came there yet; and they purpose then to make a great assault, for they have sent for guns to Lynn, and other places, by the sea's side; that with their great multitude of guns, with other shot and ordnance, there shall no man dare appear in the place, they shall hold them so busy with great (*number of*) people, that it shall not lie in their power within to hold it against them, (without God help them, or (*they*) have hasty succour from you;) therefore, as ye will have my blessing, I charge you, and require you, that you see your brother be holpen in haste, and if ye can have none mean, rather desire writing from my Lord of Clarence, if he be at London, or else of my Lord Archbishop of York,[13] to the Duke of Norfolk, that he will grant them that be in the place, their lives, and their goods, and in eschewing of insur-

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bably an ancestor of a family now residing at Coulton, in the same County, who write themselves Daveney."—(*Sir John Fenn.*)

[11] "John Duke of Norfolk, claimed this Manor, and Castle of Caister, under an agreement for a purchase which had passed between him and Sir W. Yelverton, and Thos. Howys, two of Sir John Fastolff's executors."—(*Sir J. Fenn.*)

[12] "Writtel was a servant of the Duke of Clarence's, and appears to have been sent down to endeavour at an accommodation between the besiegers and the besieged, during the short truce."—(*Sir J. Fenn.*)

[13] George Neville, brother to the Earl of Warwick.

rections with other inconveniences that be like to grow within the Shire of Norfolk, this troublous werd (*tumultuous world*), because of such conventicles and gatherings within the said Shire, for cause of the said place, they shall suffer him to enter upon such appointment or other like, taken by the advice of your counsel there at London, if ye think this be not good, till the law hath determined otherwise, and let him write another Letter to your brother to deliver the place up, on the same appointment; and if ye think, as I can suppose, that the Duke of Norfolk will not agree to this, because he granted this afore, and they in the place would not accept it, then I would the said messenger should, with the said Letters, bring from the said Lord of Clarence, or else my Lord Archbishop, to my Lord of Oxford, other Letters to rescue them forthwith, though the said Earl of Oxford should have the place during his life for his labour; spare not this to be done in haste, if ye will have their lives, and be set by (*esteemed*) in Norfolk, though ye should lose the best manor of all for the rescues.[14] I had lever (*rather*) ye lost the livelihood, than their lives; ye must get a messenger of the Lords, or some other notable man to bring these Letters; do your (*en*)deavour now, and let me send you no more messengers for this matter; but send me by the bearer hereof more certain comfort, than ye have done by all other that I sent before; in any wise let the Letters, that shall come to the Earl of Oxford, come with the Letters, that shall come to the Duke of Norfolk, that if he will not agree to the one, that ye may have ready your rescues, that it need no more to send, therefore God keep you. Written the Tuesday next before Holy Rood day in haste. By your Mother

Norwich, Tuesday, *Margaret Paston.*"
12*th of September*, 1469.

Siege of Caister.

[14] The rescue here alluded to was the giving up the Manor of Caister for life to the Earl of Oxford, if he should succeed in raising the siege.

Siege of Caister.

" *To Margaret Paston.*

Sir John Paston's Reply.

Mother, upon Saturday (*that*) last was, Dawbeney and Berney[15] were alive and merry, and I suppose there came no man out of the place to you since that time, that could have ascertained to you of their deaths; and as touching the fierceness of the Duke, or of his people, shewed, since that time that Writtill departed, I trow it was concluded, that truce and abstinence of war should be had ere he departed, which shall endure till that day sev'night after, by which time, I hope of, a good direction shall be had; and whereas ye write to me that I should sue for letters from my Lords of Clarence and York, they be not here, and if they wrote to him as they have done two times, I trow it would not avail; and as for to labour those letters and the rescue together, they be two sundry things, for when the rescue is ready, that the cost thereof is done, for if I be driven thereto to rescue it, ere they come there that should do it, it shall cost a thousand scutes (£166. 13*s.* 4*d.*) and as much after, which way were hard for me to take, while that I may do it otherwise; but as to say, that they shall be rescued if all the lands that I have in England, and Friends may do it, they shall, and (*if*) God be friendly, and that as shortly as it may goodly and well be brought about; and the greatest default earthly is money, and some friends and neighbours to help, whereof I beseech you to send me comfort with what money ye could find the means to get or chevise (*borrow upon interest*) upon surety sufficient, or upon livelihood to be in mortgage or yet sold, and what people by likelihood your friends and mine

[15] " Osbert Berney, was not killed at this siege; he survived, and died without issue some years after, when he was buried in Bradeston Church, in Norfolk, there being a brass plate in the Chancel, having the following inscription to his memory:—

Hic jacet Osbertus, filius Joh. Berney, Armig. de Redeham, Dni. et de Brayston.

He was son of John Berney Esq. by Catherine, daughter of Osbert Mundeford, of Hockwell Esq."—(*Sir J. Fenn.*)

could make upon a short warning, and to send me word in all the haste as it is needful; but, Mother, I feel by your writing that ye deem in me, I should not do my (*en*)deavour without ye wrote to me some heavy tidings, and, Mother, if I had need to be quickened with a letter in this need, I were of myself too slow a fellow; but, Mother, I ensure (*assure*) you that I have heard ten times worse tidings since the siege began, than any Letter that ye wrote to me, and sometimes I have heard right good tidings both; but this I assure you that they (*who*) be within have no worse rest than I have, nor casteth more jeopardy; but whether I had good tidings or ill, I take God to witness, that I have done my (*en*)-deavour, as I would be done for in case like, and shall do till there be an end of it. Siege of Caister.

I have sent to the King to York, and to the Lords, and hope to have answer from them by Wednesday at the furthest, and after that answer shall I be ruled, and then send you word, for till that time can I take none direction; and to encomfort you despair you not for lack of victuals nor of gunpowder, nor be not too heavy nor too merry therefore; for and (*if*) heaviness or sorrow would have been the remedy thereof, I knew never matter in my life that I could have been so heavy or sorry for, and with God's grace it shall be remedied well enough, for by my troth I had lever (*rather*) lose the Manor of Caister than the simplest man's life therein, if that may be his salvation, wherefore I beseech you to send me word what money and men ye think that I am like to get in that country; for the hasty purchase of money and men shall be the getting and rescue of it and the salvation of most men's lives, if we take that way.

Also, this day I purpose to send to York to the King for a thing, which same only may by likelihood be the salvation of all; ye must remember that the rescue of it is the last remedy of all, and how it is not easy to get; and also ye send me word that I should not come home

Siege of Caister.

without that I come strong, but if I had had one other strong place in Norfolk, to have come to though I had brought right few with me, I should with God's grace have rescued it by this time, or else he should have been fain to have besieged both places ere yet, and (*if*) the Duke had not kept Yarmouth out: but, Mother, I beseech you send me some money for by my troth I have but ten shillings, and wot not where to have more; and moreover I have been ten times in like case, or worse, within this ten weeks.

I sent to Richard Calle for money but he sendeth me none; I beseech you to guide the evidence that Peacock can tell you of, and to see it safe, for it is told me that Richard Calle hath had right large language of them; I would not they come in his fingers: I have no word from you of them, nor whether ye have yet in your keeping the evidence of East-Beckham out of his hands, nor whether ye have sent to my Manors that they should not pay him no more money or not; also that it like you to give credence to Robin in other things.

Written the Friday next after Holy Rood day.

London, Friday, *John Paston, Knight.*"

15*th of September* 1469.

Caister Castle built by Sir John Fastolf,

Caister[16] is thus described by William Wyrcester, the Executor of Sir John Fastolf, the builder of the mansion, and friend of the owner Sir John Paston. "It is a noble castellated house, forming a rectangular parallelogram, and is entered by a drawbridge over a moat, which by means of a creek, communicates with the sea. At the north-east corner is a tower, 100 feet high." This tower is still standing, and also part of the west and north

[16] These letters having been merely adduced to show the lawless spirit of the times, it would much exceed our limits to give the History of the Dispute between the Duke of Norfolk and Sir John Paston. Mr. Chalmers, in an admirable article on Sir John Fastolf in his Biographical Dictionary, occupying twelve closely printed pages, enters fully upon the subject, and to him the curious reader is, therefore, referred.

walls, supposed to be the oldest specimen of a brick mansion in the kingdom. After the house passed into the hands of Sir John Paston it was twice besieged; as we have seen above by the Duke of Norfolk, and afterwards by the Lord Scales. The founder, Sir John Fastolf, was one of the bravest commanders in the French Wars, and must on no account be confounded with the poetical Falstaff of the immortal Shakspere. The latter is one of the happiest creations of the poet's brain, who represents him as a man of three-score years of age at the battle of Shrewsbury, in 1403, when the owner of Caister was little more than twenty-six. In a subsequent letter to the one last quoted Sir John Paston writes to his brother to encourage him to hold out Caister Castle as long as he has hopes of relief. He tells him of the good opinion entertained of the courage of the besieged, and that the besiegers are represented in a very different light. Caister, however, at length yielded to the Duke of Norfolk, upon Capitulation, and the Duke's letter from Yarmouth, dated Sep. 26. 1469, granting honourable terms to the besieged, is given in vol. II. of Sir John Fenn's collection, page 27. In communicating to his brother this result John Paston, Junr. proves himself a brave soldier and a kind and generous master, and as the letter is short, it is here transcribed entire.

Siege of Caister.

not the Sir John Falstaff of Shakspere.

(*Paston Letters*, vol. iv. p. 395.)

Caister surrendered to the Duke of Norfolk.

(*Paston Letters*, vol. iv. p. 411.)

"*Caister yielded.*

To Sir John Paston, Knight.

John Paston's Letter.

Right Worshipful Sir! I commend me unto you, and as for the certainty of the deliverance of Caister, John Chapman can tell you how that we were enforced thereto, as well as myself; as for John Chapman and his three fellows, I have provided that they be paid each of them forty shillings (*equal in value to* 20*£ in the present day*) with the money they had of you and Daubeney; and that is enough for the season that they have done

Siege of Caister.

you service; I pray you give them their thank, for by my troth they have as well deserved it as any men that ever bear life; but as for money ye need not to give them without ye will, for they be pleased with their wages.

Writtel promised me to send you the certainty of the appointments; we were sore lack of victuals (*and*) gunpowder; men's hearts lack of surety of rescue, (*were*) driven thereto to take appointment.

If ye will that I come to you, send me word, and I will provide me for to tarry with you a two or three days. By my troth the rewarding of such folks as hath been with me during the siege, doth put me in great danger for the money. God preserve you, and I pray you be of good cheer till I speak with you, and I trust to God to ease your heart in some things.

September, 1469. *John Paston.*"

To follow the King into the scenes and follies of his youth forms no part of our plan; we shall therefore content ourselves with quoting the words his historian places in his own mouth: "that he had three mistresses, which in divers properties diversly excelled. One the merriest, the other the wiliest, the third the holiest harlot in the realm." The merriest was the beautiful Jane Shore, the names of the others never passed the King's lips.

(*Grafton's Chronicle*, p. 784.)

CHAPTER IV.

Literature and the Arts, in the Reign of Edward the Fourth.

The Civil Wars of York and Lancaster were a great discouragement to Learning, and accordingly we find but few authors worthy of being handed down to posterity.

Hence likewise the few authentic records of the transactions of the Reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Richard III. "are confused, mutilated, and disjointed; for they who wrote History in those days had no talent for the task." It is not a little singular that our chief information relating to this period is gained from anonymous writers, the principal of which, with the exception of the continuator of the Croyland History, are contained in the present volume. (*Ellis's Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 94.)

The principal Historians of whom we have any accurate knowledge are, William Botoner, called Wyrcester; John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; John Rous, or Ross, of Warwick; Robert Fabian, and John Hardyng, the Chroniclers; Bishop Morton, to whom the anonymous continuation of the latter is attributed; and William Caxton, the first English Printer. Historians of the period.

William Botoner, from whom we have quoted largely under the name of Wyrcester, and who signed his letters frequently: "*William Botoner, dit Worcester*," was the son of William de Worcester, and Elizabeth Botoner. He was born at Bristol in 1415, and was educated at Hart's Hall in Oxford in 1434, at the expense of Sir John Fastolf, with whom he afterwards lived at Caister in Norfolk, and to whom he was Esquire, Historian, and Executor. He was a man of great application to Learning, versed in various sciences, and indefatigable in the study of the Antiquities of the Kingdom.[1] William Wyrcester. (*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 105.)

He wrote many books, and was alive in 1480, and is supposed to have died about 1490. I. He translated

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[1] In a letter of Henry Wyndesore, who stiles himself brother to William Wyrcester, preserved by Sir John Fenn, vol. I. p. 170, we have a pleasing account of William's love for learning, poetry and books, and of his anxiety for acquiring a perfect knowledge of the French tongue. The writer surmises that the poor student, in his thirst for knowledge, had put himself in danger (*debt*) to Karoll Giles, a Lombard, from whom he appears to have taken lessons, "every day two times or three, and had bought divers books of him." He adds: "I made a motion to William to have known part of his business, and he answered and said; that he would be as glad and as fond of a good book of French, or of Poetry, as my Master Fastolff would be to purchase a fair manor."

"*Cicero de Senectute*," from the French, which he addressed to William Wainfleet, Bishop of Winchester. He tells us, himself, that he presented it to the Bishop at Esher, Augt. 10, 1475, but received no reward from him.

List of his works.

He was also the author of II. *Antiquities of England;* III. *Abbreviations of the Learned;* IV. *Medicinal Collections;* V. *De Astrologia;* VI. *De Astronomia;* VII. *Acta Domini Joannis Fastolf;* VIII. *The Acts of John, Duke of Bedford;* IX. *Polyandrium Oxoniensium, or Memoirs of Oxford Students;* X. *Annales Rerum Anglicarum;* XI. *Itinerarium Britanniae;* XII. *Comedia ad Monasterium Hulme;* and various other minor pieces. His Annals and various Fragments, were printed by Hearne, at the end of his edition of the Liber Niger Scaccarii; and his Itinerary, the ballad mentioned above as No. XII., and other minor pieces were published by Mr. James Nasmyth, in 1778. His translation of Cicero de Senectute was printed by Caxton, in 1481. Many of his Letters are contained in Sir John Fenn's Collection of the Paston Letters, from which he appears to have written in a purer style of English than most of his contemporaries.

John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester.

John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who has frequently been mentioned in the preceding pages, wrote I. *An History of England* hitherto unpublished, the only known Manuscript of which has been recently sold in the library of the late John Hawkins, Esq.,[2] where it is thus described:

His unpublished Chronicle.

"Worcester's (John Tiptoft, Earl of) Chronicle of England, from King Brute to the Sixteenth Year of King Henry the Sixth.—Chronica Regum Angliæ ex Diversis Historiographis per Dominum Johannem Wigornii Comitem sparsim collecta.—Sheldwich.—De Orbis Indagatione, Divisione, et Descriptione

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[2] "Catalogue of the Library of the late J. Sidney Hawkins, Esq., F.S.A. sold by Mr. Fletcher, May 8th, 1843."

per Julium Cæsarem in Provincias ac Regiones facta, inter quas hic liber maxime de Regno Anglorum et Regibus ejusdem, (scilicet de Bruto usque in Annum Decimum Sextum Henrici Sexti) quæ magna, famosa, et rara sunt, declarat."

It is a small Quarto volume of 174 leaves, containing little more than a chronological table of English History, and appears even in the latter years to be nothing but one of those volumes, so commonly compiled in the 15th Century by the more oppulent citizens for the facility of reference. II. He translated "*Cicero de Amicitiâ*," published originally without the name of the printer, and afterwards reprinted by Caxton in 1481. III. "*Two Declarations made by Pub. Corn. Scipio, and Gayus Flamineus*, competitors for the Love of Lucrece," which he dedicated to Edward IV. He also wrote IV. "*Orations and Epistles*," and translated V. "*Cæsar's Commentaries as touching British Affairs*," published without name of the printer, in 1530, probably by Rastell, with the original text in the margin. By command of Edward he drew up VI. "*Orders for placing the Nobility in all proceedings;*" and VII. "*Orders and Statutes for Justs and Triumphs;*" both which MSS. are preserved in the Cotton Library in the British Museum. In the Ashmolean Collection will be found VIII. "*Ordinances, Statutes and Rules; made by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and Constable of England, by the King's Commandment, at Windsor to be observed in all manner of Justs of Peers within the Realm of England;*" which were again revised in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and published by Mr. Park in his edition of Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ. He is also said to have written IX. "*A Petition against the Lollards*," and X. "*An Oration to the Citizens of Padua.*" Horace Walpole says that in the Cathedral Library of Lincoln is a *volume of Letters* addressed to the Earl of Worcester, which also contains four of his Epistles.

His other works.

His patronage of Caxton.

During a visit of the Earl to Rome, he is said by the elegance of his oratory to have drawn tears from the eyes of the Pope, Æneas Sylvius, Pius II., on occasion of visiting the Vatican Library. He is also said to have brought over to England, and to have presented to the University of Oxford MSS. to the value of 500 Marks. To his Patronage of William Caxton we owe the introduction of the Art of Printing into England, and the grateful heart of the printer thus records the Earl's merits. "*In hys tyme flowered in vertue and cunnyng none lyke hym emong the lordes of the temporalitie in scyence and moral vertue*," and again "*The axe then did att one blowe cut off more learnyng than was lefte in the heads of all the survyvyng nobilytie.*" The Earl of Worcester was executed by the secret orders of the Earl of Warwick, conveyed to the Earl of Oxford, by whom he was judged, A.D. 1470, during the short restoration of King Henry the Sixth, at which time he was in his 42nd year. Having already spoken of him in reference to his political conduct, it is only necessary to refer to page 114 of the present volume, to prove that notwithstanding his devotion to literature, he had imbibed the cruel and ferocious temper of the times in which he lived. That he early exhibited a love of learning is evident from the following passage in Ross of Warwick's History, page 5, "*I prevailed upon John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester to visit the Holy Land, a man of vast erudition, whom I knew in my time as a fellow student in the University of Oxford.*"

(*Rossi Warw.* p. 5)

John Ross or Rous.

Credulous and unsuspicious, old gossipping John Rous, the antiquary of Warwick must, nevertheless, be consulted by those who seek information respecting the reigns of the Lancastrian and Yorkist sovereigns. In his History of the Kings of England, which he commences with the Creation of the World, he incidentally mentions many curious particulars concerning the state of England, and the manners of its inhabitants in his

own times. The lover of early typography will be amused with his veneration for that splendid volume:— "Peregrinationes Sanctae ad Sepulchrum Dominicum in Hierusalem," etc. by Bernard de Breydenbach, whom he evidently considers of equal authority in the early History of the World with Moses; for he seems to prefer the learned Dean's account of the antedeluvian cities to that of the inspired writer. This singular History of England was edited by Thos. Hearne, the Antiquary, and published at Oxford in 1716, the impression limited only to 48 copies. Its rarity induced a reprint in 1745, but its intrinsic merit does not appear to have made this second edition much sought after. He likewise wrote an History of the Earls of Warwick, the MS. of which is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. He died at an advanced age, Jan. 14th, 1491.

Breydenbach peregrinationes.

Robert Fabyan, an opulent merchant and alderman of London has left us, under the title of "*Concordance of Stories*," a Chronicle of England and France, from the coming of Brutus to the 20th year of King Henry VII., A.D. 1504. Though the White Rose of York is made to reflect the colour of it's rival, and the principles of Lancaster necessarily predominate, still it is valuable for the plainness and sincerity with which it is written, and particularly for the mass of local information it affords respecting London in the 15th Century. He died February 28th, 1512, and lies buried in the Church of St. Michael's, Cornhill. Previous to his death he appears to have suffered some reverses of fortune; for in 1502 he resigned his gown on the plea of poverty and retired to his mansion in Essex. The author of the curious Fragment which we have given in the present volume from Hearne's edition of Sprott, alludes to the circumstance of the first edition of Fabyan's Chronicle having been burnt (by order of Cardinal Wolsey,) see pages 16 and 17. It is this circumstance

Robert Fabyan.

Buried at St. Michael's, Cornhill.

His Chronicle burnt by Cardinal Wolsey's order.

which may account for the great rarity of Pynson's edition of 1516.

John Hardyng.

The Metrical Chronicle of John Hardyng as a record of facts is of the utmost importance to the English Antiquary. He was born in 1378, and brought up in the household of the celebrated Harry Hotspur, Earl of Northumberland. His accounts of the transactions of the reigns of the three Lancastrian Kings, Henry IV. V. and VI. are therefore entitled to all the credit due to an eyewitness, for he was present in many of the battles he records. To Sir Henry Ellis, we are indebted for his "Journal of the March which preceded the memorable battle of Agincourt," in 1415. He appears to have rewritten his Chronicle for Richard, Duke of York, after whose death he presented it to his son, King Edward the Fourth, in 1465, when he must have been in his 87th year. The exact time of his death is not known. He was employed at Rome in 1424 to investigate and collect documents to ascertain the fealty due from the Scottish Kings. It was for this, which appears to have been a perilous service, that he was, probably, first rewarded by Henry VI. with a pension of ten pounds per annum; which in 1457 was raised by letters patent to 20£. per annum for his life, secured upon the revenues of the county of Lincoln.

Journal of the march to Agincourt.

He is employed at Rome.

Cardinal Morton.

To John Morton, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, the Life of Richard the Third, put out by Sir Thos. More has been frequently attributed. With much greater probability, however, Sir Henry Ellis has ascribed the continuation of Grafton's Chronicle to his pen. He was born at Bere in Dorsetshire in 1410, and educated at Cerne Abbey, whence he removed to Baliol College in 1446. Having entered upon Holy Orders he rose rapidly in the Church and Law. After the Battle of Tewkesbury his attainder was reversed and he accompanied Edward in his expedition to France in 1475. He was rector of St. Dunstan's in the East in 1472, one

His early life.

of the Prebends of St. Paul's in the same year, Master of the Rolls in 1473, and Archdeacon of Winchester in the year following, retaining his prebendal stall in Salisbury which had been granted him in 1458. In 1474 he was Archdeacon of Chester, the next year Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and a prebend of Well's Cathedral. In 1476 a prebend of York, and Archdeacon of Berkshire; and in 1477 Archdeacon of Leicester. His great patron, the Cardinal Archbishop Bourchier, introduced him to King Henry VI. who made him one of his privy council. During the life of his sovereign he adhered entirely to his interests with so great fidelity, that on that account Edward admired him the more, and sought to attach him to his person, and was guided by his counsel. He was Master of the Rolls, and keeper of the great seal in 1473, and in 1475 was appointed one of the commissioners for carrying out the treaty with France. In 1478 he was made Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor of England, and to mark his high esteem for him, the King appointed him one of his executors. After the death of Edward the Fourth he was placed in confinement by command of Richard III. along with the Archbishop Rotheram, the Lord Stanley and others. The University of Oxford, however, petitioned for his liberation in a long Latin epistle to Richard, and he was, in consequence, given in ward to the Duke of Buckingham, then a strong partizan of the Usurper, whom, nevertheless, he completely brought over to the other side by his arguments. He was sent to the Duke's castle in Brecknockshire, whence he escaped, and joined the Earl of Richmond on the Continent. It was by his advice that the marriage of the young Earl with the eldest daughter of the late King was then determined on; and to him therefore is due the policy of having thus cemented the interests of the White and Red Rose, by which those cruel and sanguinary Civil Wars were happily brought to a close.

Rapid rise and preferments.

Privy Councillor to Henry VI.

Courted by Edward IV.

Imprisoned by Richard III.

Employed by Henry VII.

After the battle of Bosworth-field Henry the Seventh sent for Bishop Morton, and called him to his privy Council. On the death of Cardinal Bourchier in 1486, he succeeded to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and was made a Cardinal by Pope Alexander the Sixth in 1493, and was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1494. He died Sep. 15th 1500, in his 90th year.

His character.

He is considered one of the greatest statesmen of his time, and united in himself those great requisites, learning, probity, liberality and spirit. The latter quality enabled him to repress, in some measure, the King's avarice; for he never lacked courage to give him his fair and honest opinion upon any proposal which came before him. The emoluments he derived from the lucrative offices he held were employed greatly to the advantage of posterity. The famous drain from Peterborough to Wisbeach, a distance of 12 miles across a fenny country, and still called "Morton's Leame," was completed at his sole expense, for the benefit of the country. He is said to have built the Tower of Wisbeach Church, and to have rebuilt Rochester Bridge; to have repaired the Canon-Law-School at Oxford, and to have completed the building of the Divinity Schools, and the rebuilding of St. Mary's Church. The Episcopal residences at Canterbury, Lambeth, Maidstone, Allington Park, Charing, and Ford, the latter in particular, were put into thorough repair at his own individual cost and charges.

His benefactions to his country.

William Caxton.

William Caxton, a name not to be spoken, but with feelings of the purest gratitude, and veneration, claims our notice as an Annalist of this period. It would be out of place to enter here into the controversy of the first invention of Printing. The curious reader will learn with pleasure, that a forthcoming publication, the quiet investigation of a whole life, devoted to this subject by the late Mr. S. Sotheby, will probably put this question at rest. Some idea of the state of Literature, and the scarcity of

Books, at the period of the introduction of the Art of Printing may be formed from

State of literature.

The Inventory of English Books, of John Paston, made the 5th day of November Anno IX. (1469) *Regni Regis Edwardi Quarti.*[3]

(*Fenn's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 301.)

Catalogue of an English gentleman's library.

1. A Book had of my Hostess of the George. Of the Death of Arthur, beginning at Cassibelan; Guy Earl of Warwick; Richard, Coeur de Lyon; a Chronicle to Edward the Third.
2. *Item*, a Book of Troilus (*by Chaucer*) which William B(*ottone*)r hath had near ten years, and lent it to Dame Wingfield, and there I saw it.
3. *Item*, a black book, with the Legend of (*the beautiful*) Lady sans Mercy; the Parliament of Birds; the Temple of Glass, Palatyse and Scitacus; The Meditations of (*Saint Augustine*); the Green Knight.
4. *Item*, a Book in *print* of the Play of (*Chess*).
5. *Item*, a Book lent Middleton, and therein is: Belle Dame sans Mercie; The Parliament of Birds; Ballad of Guy and Colbrond; (*The Horse*,) the Goose, the (*Chorle and the Bird;*) the Disputing between Hope and Despair; * * Merchant; the Life of St. Cry(*styne de Pisa*).
6. A red book that Percival Robsart gave me: Of the Meeds of the Mess; the Lamentation of the Child Ypotis; a Prayer to the Vernicle, called the Abbey of the Holy Ghost.
7. *Item*, in quires, Tully de Senectute:—*in divers* (*places*) *whereof there is no more clear written*—
8. *Item*, in quires, Tully, or Cypio (*Cicero*) de Amicitia; *left with William Wyrcester.*
9. *Item*, in quires, a book on the Policy of I.

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[3] Several of these manuscripts were copied expressly for Sir John Paston, by William Ebesham, whose account for the same is given by Sir John Fenn in the second volume of the Letters of the Paston Family.

10. *Item*, in quires, a book de Sapientia, wherein the second person is likened to Sapience. (*Lydgate's Werke of Sapience.*)
11. *Item*, a Book de Othea (*on Wisdom*) text and gloss, in quires.

Memorandum.

Mine old Book of Blazoning of Arms.
Item, the new Book, pourtrayed and blazoned.
Item, a Copy of Blazoning of Arms, and the Names to be found by letter. (*Alphabetically.*)
Item, a book with arms pourtrayed in paper.

Memorandum.

My Book of Knighthood; and the Manner of making of Knights; of Justs; of Tournaments; fighting in Lists; paces holden by Soldiers; Challenges; Statutes of War; and de Regimine Principum.
Item, a Book of New Statutes from Edward IV.

We have here the Catalogue of the Private Collection of an English Gentleman, fond of books,[4] who had employed persons to transcribe manuscripts for him. It is evidently the inventory of the entire Collection, for he enumerates those volumes which he had lent to his friends. Most of the works are well known and are noticed by Mr. Warton in the History of English Poetry. "Before the invention of the Art of Printing, the number of writers or copiers was very great. Most

(*Sir John Fenn*, vol. ii. p. 10.)

[4] We gather his love of books from several of his letters. In one dated Oct. 1474 he writes: "As for Sir James (*Glois'*) books, if it like you that I may have them, I am not able to buy them. But somewhat I would give, and (*for*) the residue with a good and devout heart, by my troth, I will pray for his soul. Wherefore, if it like you, by the next messenger or carrier, to send them in a day, I shall have them (*ad*)dressed here; and if any of them be claimed hereafter, in faith I will restore it." In the answer to this letter the price of the books is ascertained "to be 20s. and 6d. but the best of all, and the fairest is claimed." In reply to this communication the purchase is declined, but with evident regret, as he was pressed for money matters.

Monasteries and Religious Houses, had an office called a Scriptorium, wherein several writers were almost constantly employed in copying Books on various subjects, Missals and Books of Psalms, etc. richly and elegantly adorned with Illuminations. Men of Fortune and Learning likewise occasionally employed copiers to transcribe books for their libraries." In the Paston Correspondence, vol. II. p. 11, is a letter from a person of this description, praying Sir John Paston for the settlement of his account, which he furnishes at the same time. From this and another curious document, we gather that 2d. per leaf (*4d. of our money, and equivalent in value to* 1*s.* 8*d. of the present day*) was the price paid to copyists; that vellum was 20d. per quire, (*equal in value to* 16*s.* 8*d. at present*,) and that each quire consisted of four sheets or eight leaves. To these expenses had to be added the rubricating, flourishing of capitals, ornamental borders, and the binding. The latter appears to have been a most expensive process, for a single volume small folio is charged at 12s. (*in the present day equal to £6. taking the market price of wheat as the means of calculating the relative value*,) but as the volume was richly illuminated, and executed for Sir John Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, it may have had silver clasps and ornaments, though not mentioned in the account. Such was the expense and trouble incurred in obtaining even some eighteen or twenty volumes, that very few private collections were so extensive as that of which we have just given the catalogue. The art of printing, by the facility with which it multiplied books, enabled the higher classes to indulge in a luxury, which had already been enjoyed by their continental neighbours for upwards of twenty years. The chief productions of the press of Caxton[5] were :

Expenses of the production of books, previous to Printing.

Binding very expensive.

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[5] A List of Works from the Press of Caxton, taken from the Bibliographer's Manual of Mr. Lowndes.

"FEVRE, Raoul le. Recueil des Histoires de Troyes.

RUSSELL, Joh. Propositio.

Caxton's Publications.

I. Raoul le Fevre Recueil des Histoires de Troyes; II. an English Translation of the same by himself; Lord

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Fevre, Raoul le. Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye.

Chess.—The Game and Playe of the Chesse. *Two editions.*

Fevre, Raoul le. Boke of the hoole Lyf of Jason.

Philosophy.—The Dictes and Sayengis of Philosophers. *Three editions.*

Christine of Pisa. The moral Prouerbes of Cristyne.

Cordyale, or Memorare novissima.

Caxton, William. The Chronycles of Englond. The Discripcion of Britayne.

Mirror of the World.—Thymage or Myrrour of the World. *Two editions.*

Reynard the Fox.—The Historye of Reynard the Foxe.

Cicero. The Boke of Tulle of old Age, &c.

Godfrey of Bullogne.—The last Siege and Conqueste of Jherusalem.

Higden, Ranulph. Polycronicon.

Guileville, Guil. de. Pylgremage of the Sowle.

Festival.—Liber Festivalis. Quatuor Sermones. *Two editions.*

Gower, John. Confessio Amantis.

Voragine, Ja. de. The Golden Legende. *Three editions.*

Cato, Dion. The Book callyd Cathon.

Cato.—Parvus Catho.

Tour-Landry, Geoffroy de la. The Knyght of the Toure.

Æsop. The subtyl Historyes and Fables of Esope.

Chivalry.—The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry or Knyghthode.

Royal Book.—The Ryal Book; or a Book for a King.

Arthur, King of Great Britain.—A Book of the noble Historyes of Kynge Arthur and of certeyn of his Knyghtes.

Charles the Great.—The Lyf of Charles the great.

Paris.—Thystory of the Knyght Parys and of the fair Vyene.

Le Grand, Ja. The Book of good Maners.

Roye, Guy de. Doctrinal of Sapience.

Christine of Pisa. The Fayt of Armes and of Chyualrye.

Gerson, John. The Arte and Crafte to knowe well to dye.

Virgil. The Boke of Eneydos.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. The Book of the Tales of Cauntyrburye. *Two editions.*

Infancia Salvatoris.

Boethius, A. M. T. S. The Boke of Consolacion of Philosophie.

Chaucer and Lydgate's Minor Poems.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. The Book of Fame.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. Troylus and Creside.

Travels.—A Book for Travellers.

Katherine of Siena. The Lyf of Saint Katherine of Sene, with the Reuelacyons of Seynt Elysabeth the Kynges Daughter of Hungarye.

Bonaventure, Saint. Speculum Vitae Christi.

Directorum Sacerdotum.

Lydgate, John. The Werke of Sapience.

Book.—A Boke of diuers fruytful ghostly Matters.

Chartier, Alain. The Curial made by Mayster Alain Charretier.

Lydgate, John. The Lyf of our Lade.

Wenefrede, Saint.—The Lyf of Saynt Wenefryde.

Lucidary.—A lytel Tretise, intytuled or named, The Lucedarye.

Blanchardin and Eglantine.—The Historye of Kynge Blanchardyn and Queen Eglantyne his Wyfe.

Rhodes.—The Siege of the Cytee of Rhodes.

Statuta ap'd Westmonasteriū edita Anno primo Regis Ricardi tercii.

Statutes, i. ii. iv. Henry VII.

Chastising of God's Children.—

Rivers' Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers; Lord Worcester's Translation of Cicero; His own Chronicle of England; the works of Gower, Chaucer and Lydgate; a translation by himself of Virgil, from the French; Ovid; Boethius; Aesop's Fables; Cato; Higden's Polycronicon; the Legenda Aurea, or Lives of the Saints; various devotional works, and a whole library of Romances. He was, also, the King's printer, which office he continued to hold in the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII, the Acts of both sovereigns being included in the list of his publications given below.

His birth and early life.

William Caxton was born in the Weald of Kent, about the year 1412. His father gave him a better education than usually fell to the lot of persons of his station, and afterwards apprenticed him to Robert Large, a mercer and merchant of considerable eminence. It has been conjectured that his master received consignments of books, which the infant art of printing on the continent already rendered an important article of commerce. Hence Caxton's love of Literature, which never forsook him in after life. It is much to his credit that in his master's will he was remembered by a legacy of 20 marks, a considerable sum of money in those days. Though a freeman of the Mercers' Company he does not appear to have followed that calling, and in 1464 we find him employed by the King, with Richard Whitehill, as "ambassadors and special deputies" to conclude a treaty of trade and commerce between Edward and Philip, Duke of Burgundy. Mons. van Praet, in his "Notice sur Colard Mansion," already quoted, says he held an office, similar to our present Consuls, at Bruges, in 1469. He appears to have accompanied the Princess Margaret to Burgundy in 1468, and from the freedom she uses in

Ambassador to Philip of Burgundy.

(See p. 179.)

Consul at Bruges probably attached to Duchess of

The prouffitable Boke for Manes Soule,—called the Chastysing of Goddes Children.

Love.—Tretyse of Loue, &c.

Health.–Gouernale of Helthe, &c.

Horæ.

Ballad.—A fragment of a ballad printed by Caxton is in the British Museum.

Burgundy's household.

finding fault with his English, and desiring him to correct it, he was probably of her household. It was a fortunate circumstance for him that his Royal Mistress thus interested herself in his literary pursuits. She desired to see his translation of Raoul le Fevre's French History of Troy, and although she pointed out the uncouthness of his style, she encouraged him to proceed with it, and amply rewarded him upon its completion. The prologues and epilogues furnish us with many particulars of himself, for instance, that at the time of his finishing his labours, his eyes "*were dimmed with overmuch looking on white paper; that his courage was not so prone and ready to labour as it had been; that age was creeping on him daily; that he had practised and learnt, at his great charge and expense, to ordain this said book in print, after the manner and form as we there see it, and not written with pen and ink as other books be.*"

His translation of Raoul le Fevre.

His style.

His style is, on the whole, fluent and simple; and, even occasionally, forcible and melodious. His criticisms are sound, and that on Chaucer is more clearly and justly expressed than, perhaps, any similar production of the period. His want of knowledge of the learned languages has been fully compensated to us by the obligation he was thus under of confining the productions of his press to works, with few exceptions, written in the vernacular tongue. This circumstance, no doubt, greatly encouraged a taste for English Literature, and the press of Caxton may thus be said to have created a school [6], by

His press produces English books.

[6] As an illustration of the great improvement in style at this period the following verses, preserved in the Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 305, may be taken. They were addressed to her lover by a lady, during his absence in the wars.

I.

"My right good Lord, most knightly gentle Knight,
Unto your Grace, in my most humble wise,
I me commend, as it is due and right!
Beseeching you at leisure to advise
Upon this bill, and pardon mine emprize
Grounded on Folly, for lack of providence,
Unto your Lordship to write without license."

which the language of his country was enabled to compete with those of Greece and Rome. His first productions were completed during his residence abroad in 1471; but the exact period of his establishment in Westminster has never been ascertained. He continued to pursue his industrious calling till the time of his death in 1491 or 1492, having translated no less than 5000 closely printed pages, besides attending to the labours of his printing office, and the consequent toil of compilation. A.D. 1477. His death 1491, or 92.

His original works are: The Chronicles of England and the Description of Britain; printed in the same volume in 1480. The list of his publications given below is a triumphant record of his editorial labours. Till of late years no monument recorded the spot where he first exercised that art, His Chronicles of England.

"Which breathes a soul into the silent walls,"

and even at this moment the few inches of white marble, placed by the Roxburghe Club on as many inches of the walls of Westminster Abbey, (which were purchased, and not granted,) is passed over by the stranger who visits this venerable pile without noticing that it was here that the first printing press in England was established.

II.

"But when a man *doth* with a fever shake,
Now hot, now cold, as falleth by adventure,—
He in his mind conjecture will, and take
The nighest means to work (*or aid*) his cure,
More patiently his pains, (*thus*) to endure;
And right so I, so it you not displease,
Write in this wise, my pains (*so*) to appease."

The entire poem consists of eight similar verses, and embodies several natural, tender, and affecting thoughts, which will repay the perusal of such as are curious in these matters. The words introduced in italics were necessary to render the metre complete, when copied into modern spelling, the word peynys, pains, being of two syllables in the 15th century.

Inscription in Westminster Abbey.

TO THE MEMORY OF

WILLIAM CAXTON,

WHO FIRST INTRODUCED INTO GREAT BRITAIN
THE ART OF PRINTING,
AND WHO, A.D. 1477, OR EARLIER,
EXERCISED THAT ART
IN THE ABBEY OF WESTMINSTER,
THIS TABLET
IN REMEMBRANCE OF ONE
TO WHOM
THE LITERATURE OF HIS COUNTRY
IS SO LARGELY INDEBTED,
WAS RAISED
ANNO DOMINI MDCCCXX.
BY THE ROXBURGHE CLUB.
EARL SPENCER, K.G. PRESIDENT.

Richard Arnold.

His Chronicle.

Another Chronicler of the period was Richard Arnold, who compiled a miscellany of information, under the title of: "*The Names of the Bailiffs, Custos, Mayors, and Sheriffs of the City of London from the Time of King Richard the First, etc.,*" which gives no idea of its curious contents. It preserves family recipes of the time, the various lists mentioned on the titlepage, municipal regulations, assizes of Bread, and that most charming piece of old poetry, "the Nutbrown Maid." He appears to have died, aged about 70 years, in 1521, and to have been a merchant trading to Flanders, a member of the Haberdashers' Company. In 1488 he was confined in the castle of Sluys, in Flanders, as a spy, and has given in his volume, among the forms and precedents, a charter of pardon granted to him for treasonable practices. The first edition of his book was printed at Antwerp by John Doesborowe, about 1500.

Dr. John Warkworth, whose Chronicle we have given at page 101, was Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, from 1473 to 1498. Dr. John Warkworth.

Though the Inns of Court and Chancery were crowded with law students during the reign of Edward the Fourth, only two names occur amongst them, worthy of being recorded: Sir Thomas Littleton,[7] the author of the best book on Land Tenures, and Sir John Fortescue, tutor to the unfortunate Edward, Prince of Wales, for whose instruction he compiled his admirable work: "*de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*,"[8] during the exile of Margaret and her son in France after the battle of Towton. Littleton died in 1481, leaving three sons and an ample fortune. Fortescue accompanied the Queen and his charge on their return to England in 1471, and after the battle of Tewkesbury submitted to Edward the Fourth, and died at the advanced age of ninety. He was the greatest ornament of his profession, and one of the best and most learned men of the age in which he lived. Sir Thos. Littleton. Sir John Fortescue.

Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales and Earl Rivers, the Queen's brother, whose chivalrous and courteous behaviour, daring and invincible courage, and loyal and devoted attachment to his sovereign, have been already so fully recorded, again claims our attention as occupying the highest rank in the Literature of the period in which he lived. Like the great Earl of Worcester he was the early patron of Caxton, and had the additional gratification of beholding his own labours issue from that press, which his countenance had called into being, and which the cruelty of the times had denied to his rival. His grateful printer thus notices his works: "*The noble and virtuous Lord Anthony, Earl Rivers, Lord Scales, and of the Isle of Wight, Uncle and Governour to my Lord Prince of Wales—notwithstanding the great labours* Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers. Patron of Caxton, who prints his works. (*Caxton's Preface to Cordyale, or Memorare novissima.*)

[7] First printed in 1481, by Lettou and Machlinia.

[8] After remaining long in MS. it was edited by a descendant and published in 1714.

His works enumerated.

and charges that he hath had in the service of the King and the said Lord Prince, as well in Wales as in England, which hath been to him no little thought, and business, both in spirit and body, as the fruit thereof experimentally sheweth; yet over that to enrich his virtuous disposition, he hath put him(self) in (en)deavour, when he might have a leisure, which was but starte-mele (at intervals) to translate divers books out of French into English. Amongst others, passed through mine hands, 'the Booke of the Wise Sayings, or Dictes of Philosophers,'—*and* 'the wise wholesome Proverbs of Christine of Pisa,'[9] *set in metre:—Over this he hath made* 'divers Ballads against the Seven Deadly Sins.'—*Furthermore, he took upon him the translating of this present work, named:* 'Cordyale,' *trusting that both the readers and hearers thereof, should know themselves hereafter the better, and amend their living.*"

(*Preface to Dictis or Saynges.*)

Earl Rivers thus expresses himself respecting his "*Dictis or Saynges of Philosophers:* When I had heeded and looked upon it, as I had time and space, I gave thereto a very affection. And especially because of the wholesome and sweet sayings of the paynims, which is a glorious fair mirror to all good christian people to behold and understand. Over that (*besides*) a great comfort to every well disposed soul. It lauds virtue and science;—it blames vices and ignorance." It was this book that the Earl presented to the King, accompanied by Caxton. Horace Walpole has given, as frontispiece to his Royal and Noble Authors, the facsimile of an illustration representing this event, which contains the only authentic portrait of Edward the Fifth. I cannot refrain from calling attention to the Earl of Rivers' autograph

His autograph in the Brit. Mus.

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[9] "In this translation the Earl discovered new talents, turning the work into a poem of 203 lines, the greatest part of which he contrived to make conclude with the letter E: an instance at once of his Lordship's application, and of the bad taste of the age, which had witticisms and whims to struggle with as well as ignorance."—(*Walpole.*)

preserved in the volume numbered 4431 in the Harleian Collection, which contains the Works of Christine de Pisan, of which a facsimile has been given by Sir Frederick Madden in the Archæologia, vol. XXVI. p. 273. Earl Rivers.

The Earl Rivers was beheaded at Pontefract in 1483, in his 41st year, by order of Richard III. The night before his execution he composed the following somewhat irregular lines, which have been preserved by John Rous:— Beheaded in 1483. (*Rossi Warwicensis Historia*, p. 214.)

Verses written just previous to execution.

I.

Somewhat musing
And more mourning
In remembring
The unsteadfastness
This world being
Of such wheeling
Me contrarying,
What may I guess!

II.

I fear doubtless
Remediless
Is now to see
My woful chance!
(*For unkindness,**
Without the less,
And no redress
Me doth advance!

III.

With displeasance
To my grievance
And no 'surance
Of remedy.)

Lo! in this trance
Now in substance
Such is my dance,
Willing to die!

IV.

Methinks truly
Bounden am I
And this greatly
To be content;—
Seeing plainly
That fortune doth wry
All contrary
From mine intent!

V.

My life was lent
Me to one intent,
It is not spent;
Welcome Fortune!
But I ne'er went (*weaned*)
Thus to be shent (*killed*)
But so it ment,
Such is her Won(*t.*)

"The hair shirt which he wore next his skin, shows that he complied with the forms of his creed; it was hung up before the image of the Holy Virgin Mary, in the Carmelite Friary at Doncaster," after his execution. Thus by a similar fate fell both the restorers of literature in England, "whose countenance and example must have operated more strongly in its cause, than the attempts of an hundred professors, Benedictines and Com- (*Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.*)

* Supplied from Ritson's Songs.

Earl Rivers. mentators." Like Boethius of old, the Earl Rivers felt the consolations of Philosophy and Learning, even in the hour of an ignominious death, which by their means was deprived of its greatest bitterness.

His continual presence about the King and Queen, cherished a love for literature in the former, who feeling how much his own education had been neglected, had already provided that both his brothers, CLARENCE and GLOUCESTER should derive all the advantages in that respect, which it was in his power to bestow. Towards the close of his reign his anxiety was manifested that his son, the Prince of Wales should possess every accomplishment necessary to qualify him for the high station, to which he was born; and the rules already quoted, show him to have been no mean judge of the requisites of the Kingly office. The Earl Rivers was appointed Chamberlain to the Prince, and the Cardinal Morton tutor, and in the King's will the latter was nominated one of his executors.

Earl Rivers appointed Chamberlain to Edward Prince of Wales.

THE CLERGY. Amongst the Clergy Archbishops Bouchier and Rotheram, and Bishops Stillington, Russell, Alcock, Wainfleet, Martin, Storie,[11] Peacock, and Morton deserve particular notice. Most of these will claim our attention in a subsequent chapter, when considering the state of parties in the court of Edward, after the death of the Duke of Clarence.

ARCHITECTURE. The revival of Letters had led to the founding and endowment of several Colleges, both at Oxford and Cambridge, but these owe their rise chiefly to Henry VI. and Queen Margaret, to whom also the country is indebted for the establishment of Eton College. Both Edward and his Queen, however, were munificent patrons to them, and the royal taste is discernible in the

[11] Edward Storie, or Story, was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle in 1468, and translated to Chichester in 1477. He was Confessor to the Queen, and died in 1502. The beautiful cross at Chichester was erected by his munificence.

exquisite Architecture of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, the Chapel of Eton College,[12] and St. George's Chapel at Windsor,[13] the latter of which was built by Edward the Fourth. The Divinity School at Oxford, completed in 1480, the Public Schools in Cambridge, finished in 1475, and the Collegiate Church of Fotheringay, besides numerous other Ecclesiastical edifices, prove that Gothic Architecture had arrived at it's highest perfection during his reign. ARCHITECTURE.

The progress made in the Art of Gunnery was slow and gradual. To Edward we are, however, indebted for the introduction of hand culverines,[14] which were first brought into England by him on his return from Flanders in 1471, and to these he was probably indebted for the signal success which attended his brilliant campaign for the recovery of his throne. He had paid particular attention previously, to the construction of his field-pieces, introducing font-metal or bronze, instead of iron. With what advantage he employed his ordinance has been already recorded at page 113, where he dispersed the Lincolnshire rebels; and also how he dislodged the Duke of Somerset at Tewkesbury by means of "his gun-shot, and shot of arrows." GUNNERY.

The numerous images which were placed in the churches, the magnificent tombs erected to the memory of the great, and the employment of statues for exterior decoration, in the rich gothic architecture of those days, must have produced many artists, whose works and names perished at the period of the Reformation. Horace Walpole has, however, preserved a curious description of a "new Sepulchre, well gilt," made for the SCULPTURE.

[12] In Queen's College, Cambridge, is a coeval portrait of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, who was the second foundress. Jane Shore, may be considered the second foundress of Eton College; for by her intercession the lands of which the college had been despoiled by Edward, were restored. A contemporary Portrait of her is preserved in the College.

[13] See Pote's History of Windsor, p. 50. He appointed the Bishop of Salisbury, Richard Beauchamp, Master and Surveyor of the Works.

[14] See Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 121, where they are called handguns.

Church of St. Mary, Redcliffe, Bristol, by "Master Cumings," in the year 1470.

PAINTING. Painting seems to have been confined to mere limning, with exception of the decorations employed in books. Many of these are exquisitely finished, and though somewhat stiff in the drawing, they display considerable taste in grouping, and in the disposition of light and shade. To us, however, they possess a value beyond this in preserving portraits of celebrated personages, and the costume of the latter part of the 15th century. The Manuscript in the Library at Lambeth Palace mentioned at page 208 preserves portraits of Edward, the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Gloucester, and other members of the Court, and Mr. Strutt in his Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities has given facsimiles from numerous others, chiefly preserved in the British Museum, whilst the elegant plates of Mr. Shaw, taken from the same source, but more accurately facsimiled than those of his predecessors, show to what perfection the art of illuminating had arrived in the reign of Edward the Fourth.

Book Illuminations.

CHAPTER V.

The Royal Brothers, Edward IV. Clarence and Gloucester.

EDWARD, whatever his other faults may have been, was kind and affectionate in his conduct to his younger brothers. Richard, Duke of York had a numerous family, by his wife, Cicely, daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland, seven sons, and four daughters, who were all younger than Edward, with the exception of Anne, Duchess of Exeter, and Henry, who died young. Of this large family[1], Edmund, Duke of Rutland, was slain

The family of Richard Duke of York.

[1] The following Royal Genealogy is translated from William Wyrcester, as published by Hearne, p. 525-527.

with his father in the Battle of Wakefield, Dec. 30, 1460, in his 17th year; and William and John died in early life. Of the daughters, Anne was married to Henry Holand, Duke of Exeter, from whom she was

The Royal Family.

"*The Generation of the most Illustrious Prince, Richard, Duke of York, etc. by his wife, the most gentle Princess, Cecilia, daughter of the illustrious Lord, Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, by his second wife the most Noble Lady, Joan, daughter of the most potent Prince, John, Duke of Lancaster, Son of King Edward III.*

THE LADY ANNE, the firstborn of the most Illustrious Prince, Richard, etc. was born at a certain manor of the Lord Bishop of Ely, called Hatfield; on the 9th of February, A. 1441, in the afternoon, the 17th hour (*five o'clock, a. m. Feb. 10th.*).* Anne, Duchess of Exeter.

["A.D. 1441. HENRY, ELDEST SON of Richard, Duke of York, was born at Hatfield, on Friday, the 10th of February, at five in the morning."—(*Annales*, p. 461.)] Henry Plantagenet.

THE LORD EDWARD, the second son of the Illustrious Prince Richard, was born in the City of Rouen, on the 27th of April, in the year 1442, in the afternoon, the 14th hour and 45 minutes, (45 *minutes past* 2 *o'clock, a. m. April* 28*th.*).† Edward IV.

THE LORD EDMUND, the third son of the Illustrious Prince Richard, was born in the city of Rouen, on (*Monday*) the 17th of May in the year 1443, the 7th hour of the afternoon, and was Christened in the long font of Rollo, in which none other but him has been baptized from the time of the said Rollo. He was slain with his father in the Battle of Wakefield (*Dec.* 30, 1460). Edmund, Duke of Rutland.

ELIZABETH, the second daughter of the said Prince, was born at Rouen, the 21st of September in the year 1444, exactly at the 14th hour in the afternoon (2 *o'clock, a. m. Sep.* 22*nd.*).‡ Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk.

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* In his Annals Wyrcester says: Anne, Duchess of Exeter, daughter of Richard Duke of York, and Cicely his wife, was born at Fotheringay, on Tuesday the 10th of March, 1441, between the hours of five and six, in the morning.—(p. 460.)

† In the Annals our author says that Edward was born on Monday the 28th of April, 1442, two hours after midnight, and adds naïvely: "*qui conceptus est in camera proxima capellae palacii de Hatfield.*"—(p. 462.)

‡ Here is a discrepancy between this account and his Annals. He there gives Tuesday, April 22nd, at 2 o'clock in the morning, as the time of her birth.—(p. 462.)

The Royal Family.

divorced after the Battle of Barnet, and married secondly Sir Thomas St. Leger, who accompanied Edward in his expedition against Louis XI.;—Elizabeth married William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk; and Margaret, after Edward's accession, was wedded with great pomp to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Ursula the youngest child died young. GEORGE, at the time of his brother's accession was in his twelfth year, and was immediately created Duke of Clarence. RICHARD, then in his ninth year, was created Duke of Gloucester.

Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy.

THE LADY MARGARET, the third daughter of the said most noble Prince was born at Waltham Abbey, on (*Tuesday*) the 3rd of May in the year 1446.

William Plantagenet.

THE LORD WILLIAM, the fourth son of the said Prince, was born in the Castle of Fotheringay, the 7th of July, 1447.

John Plantagenet.

THE LORD JOHN, the fifth son of the said Prince, was born at Nexte,* near London, in the Manor of the Abbot of Westminster, on the 7th of November, in the year of our Lord 1448, and was baptized at Chelsea.

George, Duke of Clarence.

THE LORD GEORGE, the sixth son of the said Prince was born in the castle of Dublin in Ireland, on the 21st of October in the year of our Lord 1449, at mid-day, and baptized in the church of St. Saviour's."

[This account of the Family of York must have been drawn out by W. Wyrcester before the year 1452, in which year he records

Richard III.

in his Annals: "On Monday the 2nd of October RICHARD, (*son of Richard, Duke of York*) was born at Fotheringay.

Ursula.

Anno 1455, URSULA, daughter of Richard, Duke of York, was born on St. Margaret's day, July 20th."—(*Wyrcester Annales*, p. 577.)]

GENEALOGY OF EDWARD IV.

Edward IV. King of England, France, and Ireland.

THE NOBLE EDWARD, dating from the Conquest, the Fourth (*of that name*) King of England and France; and true heir of Castile and Leon; Duke of Normandy, Aquitaine and Angiers; and Lord of Ireland, was son and heir of the most Illustrious Prince, Richard Plantagenet, late Duke of York, son and heir of

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* In his Annals he calls this place Neyte, (probably our present Knightsbridge).

As the young princes approached towards manhood, they appear to have looked upon the Queen's relations with a jealous eye, and to have been more frequently the inmates of the Earl of Warwick's house, than of their brother's palace. The Earl was possessed of almost unbounded power, and his immense wealth and landed estates would devolve on his death to his two daughters, the ladies Isabella and Anne Neville. The vice of avarice seems to have pervaded all ranks and ages at that period, and the wealthy heiresses of Warwick attracted crowds of Nobles to the magnificent mansion of their father. "The King continued to look upon the Earl," says a contemporary, "with a lurking displeasure, for

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Anne, daughter and heiress of Roger Mortimer, Earl of Marche, son and heir of Phillippa, daughter and heiress of Lionel, second son of Edward the Third, which Edward was the true and undoubted KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND.

King of Castile and Leon.

Also, this Edward was son of the said Richard Plantagenet, who was son and heir of Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who was son and heir of Edmund Langley, Duke of York, and of Isabel, his wife, the daughter and heiress of Peter, the true and undoubted KING OF CASTILE AND LEON.

Duke of Normandy.

Also, this Edward was son of the said Richard Plantagenet, son of Anna, daughter of Roger Mortimer, son and heir of Phillippa and Edmund Earl of Marche, who was son to Earl Roger, who was son to Earl Edmund, who was son to Roger, the first Earl of Marche, who was son to Gladesduy, who was daughter and heiress of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and wife of Sir Ralph Mortimer, Knight, who was son of Roger, who was son of Hugh de Mortimer and Maud, his wife, daughter of William Longa-spata (*Longsword*) who was son and heir of Rollo, the first DUKE OF NORMANDY.

Duke of Angiers.

Also, this Edward is DUKE OF ANGIERS, through his father Richard Plantagenet, who was son of Anna, who was daughter of Roger, who was son of Phillippa, who was daughter of Lionel, who was son of Edward III, who was son of Edward II, who was son of Edward I, who was son of Henry III, who was son of John, who was heir of Richard, who was son of Henry II, who was son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Angiers, who was son of Fulke, who was son of Geoffrey, who was son of Fulke, who was son of Rechin, who was son of Geoffrey, who was son of Fulke, the first EARL OF ANGIERS.

he had discovered a secret betrothment between the Duke of Clarence and the daughter of the Earl, whose object he had long suspected was to bring about such a marriage. Master Lacy had been sent to Rome for a dispensation, on account of their consanguinity, so that this marriage might be accomplished, but it could not be listened to by the Pope." Edward did all in his power to prevent it, for Clarence was yet next heir male to the crown, and he feared Warwick's ambition might seek to place his son-in-law on the throne. His efforts, however, were ineffectual, and the marriage took place, without his consent, in the Church of St. Nicholas at Calais, the Bride's uncle, who had been "superseded in his office of Chancellor by the Bishop of Bath and Wells,[2] the Archbishop of York performing the ceremony." Wherefore the King took a great displeasure with them, and thereupon were certain unkind words betwixt them, in so much that after that day there was never perfect love betwixt them. "This caused an estrangement between the two elder brothers, and persuaded by Warwick, Clarence joined in the Conspiracy, then forming, to dethrone his brother. It was about this time that a messenger with letters from Queen Margaret was captured in Wales, near Harlech Castle, and was sent to London to the King, by the Lord Herbert, where he accused many persons of treason against the King, and amongst others the Earl of Warwick, and stated that he had heard beyond seas, it implied that the Earl favoured the part of Queen Margaret. Wherefore the King sent him to the Earl, who came not now under the shelter of his roof, to my Lord at Middleham. In the sequel, however, the matter was pronounced frivolous. Nevertheless the King appointed 200 well tried and brave English archers, with a pay of 8d. per day (*equal in value to 7s. at present*) to ride and attend upon his person, and thus accompanied he journeyed to Coventry."

Clarence's marriage at Calais, by the Archbishop of York,—(*William Wyrcester*, p. 508.)

(*Hearne's Fragment*, p. 23.)

causes an estrangement between the brothers.—(*William Wyrcester*, p. 571.)

[2] Robert Stillington, see Warkworth's Chronicle, page 106, note [11].

"The King, Queen, and many noble personages kept Christmas in the Abbey at Coventry, and for six days the Duke of Clarence dissembled there." (*Ibid.* 512–13.)

"And shortly after the feast of Epiphany, by the means of secret friends, the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Rivers met at Nottingham, and so were reconciled; upon which the Archbishop accompanied the Earl of Warwick to the King in Council at Coventry, in the month of January, when the Earl, the Lords Herbert, Stafford and Audley were reconciled. And there the King also restored to the Archbishop the lands of Penley and Winstone, the grant of which he had previously resumed from him." Reconciliation of the parties.

Matters seemed thus again settled, and the King, never fond of business, gave himself up once more to the gratification of his personal pleasures. The Earl on the contrary, still continued to foment the disaffection towards the King. Edward met his parliament in June, and assured the Commons, through the Earl of Rivers, of the enjoyment of their liberties and privileges. He then addressed them himself, "declaring his intention to live upon his private revenues, and not to levy taxes upon his subjects but in great and urgent cases, which would concern their own weal, and the defence of the Kingdom more than his pleasure. For their good will, kindness and true hearts he thanked them heartily and promised to be a good and gracious King to them, and to reign as right wisely over them, as did any of his progenitors; and also, in time of need to apply his person for the weal and defence of them and the realm, not sparing life or body for any jeopardy that may happen to the same." It was in the midst of this session that London was visited by the plague, and parliament was consequently adjourned till November, and again prorogued to the 5th of May at Reading, and eventually met on the 17th of May at Westminster. (*Parliamentary Rolls*, p.572.) The King's speech, June, 1469.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells addressed it as Chan- (*Ibid.* p. 272, 3.)

cellor, and contrasted in glowing colours the prosperity of England, with its distressed state at the King's accession. "Then it was naked and full barren of justice; the peace not kept, nor the laws duly administered. The Duchies of Normandy, Gascony and Guienne had been seized upon by France, and enemies surrounded us on all sides. The King on the contrary had concluded a perpetual peace with Spain; made Commercial treaties with Denmark, Germany and Naples; made peace with Scotland for fifty years; and had begun a treaty with the King of Arragon, and an amity with Bretagne; whilst by the marriage of his sister with the Duke of Burgundy a friendship had been firmly rivetted with that court. In doing this he declared it was the King's intent to minish and lessen the power of his ancient adversary of France. He avowed his master's intention of crossing the seas to subdue his great and rebel adversary, Louis, the usurping King of France, and in conclusion, noticed the invitations he had received for that purpose, both from Burgundy and Brittany, calling upon parliament for its assistance and cooperation." A liberal supply was voted by the commons, but the secret influence of Warwick and his confederates defeated the King's measures. An insurrection as unlooked for, as it was sudden, sprang up in the North. No less than 60,000 men appeared in arms, under a leader, whom they named Robin of Redesdale, and dispersing papers, specifying the causes of their assembling, marched on towards London. The result of this sudden outbreak has already been given in Hearne's Fragment and Warkworth's Chronicle,[3] and the consequent Battles of Hedgecote and Stamford. The following proclamations connected with these events, are of great importance, and give a true and curious picture of the times.

War with France contemplated.

Prevented by the rebellion in the North.

[3] See Hearne's Fragment, p. 24-5; and Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 110.

" *The Duke of Clarence, the Archbishop of York, and the Earl of Warwick.*

The Commons' Petition to the Barons.—(*MS. Roll in the Ashmolean Museum*, No. 1160, *quoted by Mr. Halliwell.*)

Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well! And well ye wit (*know*), that the King our Sovereign Lord's true subjects of divers parts of this his realm of England, have delivered to us certain bills of Articles, which we suppose that ye have in those parts, remembering in the same the deceivable covetous rule, and guiding, of certain seditious persons; that is to say: the Lord Rivers; the Duchess of Bedford his wife; Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Devonshire; the Lords Scales, and Audley; Sir John Woodville, and his brethren; Sir John Fogg; and others of their mischievous rule opinion and assent, which have caused our said sovereign Lord, and his said realm, to fall in (*to*) great poverty of misery, disturbing the 'ministration of the laws, only attending to their own promotion and enriching. The said true subjects, with piteous lamentation, calling upon us and other lords, to be means to our said Sovereign Lord for a remedy and reformation; wherefore we, thinking the petition comprised in the said articles, reasonable and profitable, for the honour and profit of our said Sovereign Lord, and the common weal of all this his realm, fully purposed with other lords to show the same to his good grace, desiring and pray(*ing*) you to dispose, and array yourselves, to accompany us thither, with as many persons defensibly arrayed as ye can make; letting you weet (*know*) that by God's Grace we intend to be at Canterbury upon Sunday next coming. Written under our signets and sign manuels the twelfth day of July, Anno 1469."

References to causes of discontent in former reigns.

" *In three the next articles underwritten, are comprised and specified the occasions and very causes of the great inconveniences and mischiefs that fell in this land, in the days of King Edward the Second, King Richard the*

Second, and King Henry the Sixth, to the destruction of them, and to the great hurt, and impoverishing of this land."

I. Estrangement of the Kings from their kindred.

"FIRST, the said Kings estranged the great lords of their blood, from their secret council and (*were*) not advised by them; and taking about them, others not of their blood, and inclining only to their council, rule, and advice, the which persons took not respect, nor consideration to the weal of the said princes, nor to the commonweal of this land, but only to their singular lucre, and enriching of themselves, and their blood, as well in their great possessions, as in goods; by the which (*means*) the said princes were so impoverished, that they had not sufficient of livelihood, nor of goods, whereby they might keep and maintain their honourable estate, and ordinary charges, within this realm.

II. Heavy taxes.

Also, the said seditious persons, not willing to leave the possessions that they had, caused the said princes to lay such impositions and charges, as well by way of untrue appeasements to whom they owed evil will unto, as by dismes, taxes, and priests nobles, and other inordinate charges, upon their subjects, and commons, to the great grudge and impoverishing of them, which caused all the people of this land to grudge.

III. Undue administration of the laws.

And also, the said seditious persons by their maintenances, where they have (*had*) rule, would not suffer the laws to be executed, but where they owe(*d*) favour, moved the said princes to the same; by the which there were no laws at that time duly 'ministered, nor put in execution, which caused great murders, robberies, rapes, oppressions, and extortions, as well by themselves, as by their great maintenances of them to be done, to the great grudge of all this land.

The private property of the Crown sufficient for its expenses.

It is so, that where the King our Sovereign Lord hath had [a] great livelihoods and possessions, as ever had King of England; that is to say, the livelihood of the Crown, Principality of Wales, Duchy of Lancaster,

Duchy of Cornwall, Duchy of York, the Earldom of Chester, the Earldom of Marche, the Lordship of Ireland, and others, with great forfeits, besides Tonage and Poundage of all this land, granted only to the keeping of the sea. The Lord Rivers, the Duchess of Bedford, his wife, and their sons; Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; and Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Devonshire; the Lord Audley, and Sir John Fogg, and others of their mischievous assent and opinion, which have advised and caused our said Sovereign Lord to give of the said livelihood and possessions to them, above their desserts and degrees, so that he may not live honourably and maintain his estate and charges ordinary, within this land. The King's favourites.

And also, the said seditious persons next before expressed, not willing to leave such large possessions and goods, as they have of our said Sovereign Lord's gift, have, by subtle and deceivable imaginations, moved and caused our Sovereign Lord to change his most rich coin, and 'minished his most royal household to the great abasing of his estate and the commonweal of this land. His tampering with the coin,

Also, the said seditious persons continuing in their most deceivable, and covetous disposition, have caused our said Sovereign Lord to ask, and charge us, his true Commons, and subjects, with such great impositions,[4] and inordinate charges; as, by means of borrowing without payment; taking goods of executors of rich men; taxes; dismes; and priests nobles; taking great goods for his household, without payment; impeachments of treasons to whom they owe any evil will;—So that there can be no man of worship or riches, either spiritual or temporal, knights, squires, merchants, or any other honest person, in surety of his life, livelihood, or goods, when the said seditious persons, or any of them, owe any malice, or evil will, to the great dread, and unport- and inordinate taxation. Perversion of the law.

[4] The taxes voted for the wars with France were two fifteenths and two tenths (dismes).

able charges, and the utter impoverishing of us, his true Commons, and subjects;—and to the great enriching of themselves, the premises amounting to two hundred thousand marks (*this year*) and more.

The Pope's revenues despoiled.

Also, the said seditious persons have caused our said Sovereign Lord to spend the goods of our Holy Father, the which were given him for defence of Christian faith, of many goodly disposed people of this land, without repayment of our said Holy Father, for the which cause this land standeth in jeopardy of Interdicting.

Also, the said seditious persons, by their maintenances in the countries where they dwelt, or where they here rule, will not suffer the King's laws to be executed upon whom they owed favour unto; *And also* moved our said Sovereign Lord to the same; by the which the laws be not duly 'ministered, nor put in execution; by the which great murders, robberies, rapes, oppressions, and extortions, as well by them, as by their great maintenances of their servants, to us daily (*are*) done, and remain unpunished, to the great hurt and grudge of all this land.

Undue administration of the laws.

Estrangement from his kindred.

Also, the said seditious persons have caused our said Sovereign Lord to estrange the true Lords of his blood, from his secret Council, to the intent, that they might attain and bring about their false and deceivable purposes, in premises aforesaid, to the great enriching of themselves, and to the great hurt and poverty of our said Sovereign Lord, and to all us his true subjects and commons of this land."

The Commons' petition.—(*MS. Roll, Ashmolean Museum*, No. 1160, *quoted by Mr. Halliwell.*)

"*These underwritten are the petitions of us true and faithful subjects, and commons, of this land, for the great weal and surety of the King, our Sovereign Lord, and his heirs, and the Commonweal of this land, ever to be continued. After humble praying of true Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, to give assistance and aid in*

this our true and goodly desires; for we take God to record, we intend but only for the weal and safety of the King, our Sovereign Lord, and the common-weal of this land." The Commons' Petition.

"*First*, that the said seditious persons above named, which by their subtle and malicious means have caused our said Sovereign Lord to estrange his good grace from the Council of the noble and true lords of his blood, moved him to break his laws and statutes, 'minished his livelihood and household, changing his [most] richest coin, and charging this land with such great and inordinate impositions, as is above expressed; to the great appeirement[5] (*injury*) of his most Royal estate, and impoverishing of him and all his true Commons, and subjects, and only to the enriching of themselves; may be punished according to their works and untruths,—so that all others hereafter shall take example by them.

Also, in eschewing the occasions and causes of the great inconveniences, and mischiefs, that by the same have fallen in the King's days, above expressed, as well upon themselves, as upon this land, and that in times hereafter might fall; We the King's true and faithful Commons and subjects of this land, meekly beseech his good grace, that it will like him for the great weal of himself, his heirs, and the commonweal of us his true subjects, and Commons, for ever to be continued by the advice, and authority of his Lords Spiritual and Temporal to appoint, ordain, and establish for ever, to be had such a sufficient of livelihood and possessions, by the which he and all his heirs after him may maintain and keep their most honourable estate with all other ordinary charges necessary to be had in this land. So that he, nor none of his heirs, hereafter, of necessity, need to charge and lay upon his true Commons and subjects such great impositions as before is expressed: Unless that it

The King to secure the revenues of the Crown lands,

and thus avoid taxes.

[5] See the word: *pair*, or *peir*, in Richardson's Dictionary.

were for the great and urgent causes concerning as well the weal of us, as of our said Sovereign Lord :—According to the promise that he made in his last parliament openly with his own mouth unto us.

All persons accepting Crown lands to be punished.

Also, to be established by the said authority, that if any person of what estate, or degree that he may be, after the said establishment so ordained, and made, (except the King's issue and his brethren,) presume, or take upon them to ask, or take possession, of any of the livelihood so appointed, that by the said authority, he be taken and reputed as he that would 'minish and appair (*impair*) the royal estate of his Sovereign Lord, and the commonweal of this Land. And went (*wanting*) pardon so to be punished.

The revenues from tonage and poundage to keep the seas.

Also, that the revenues of Tonage and Poundage, may be employed in the keeping of the sea, as it was granted, and to none other use, for the safety of intercourse of merchandize to (*the*) great enriching of this land, and also for the defence [of the] (*against*) enemies.

Keeping of the laws.

Also, that the laws and the statutes, made in the days of your noble progenitor King Edward the Third, especially for the concerning and keeping of this land in good health and peace, as well Wales as England, be duly kept, observed, and executed, for the conservation of us your true Commons and subjects in peace, and the commonweal of this, our land."

(*Excerpta Historica*, p. 282.)

Mr. Black, in the Excerpta Historica gives the Confession of Sir Robert Welles. From this it appears that a 'squire of the Duke of Clarence's was in the Battle, and assisted Sir Robert Welles with his advice, and that the real object of the rebellion was to place the crown upon Clarence's head. Upon the defeat of Sir Robert Welles, and his subsequent confession, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick fled to the continent, upon which the King issued the following proclamations, addressed to the Lord Lieutenants of the various Counties.

Flight of Clarence and Warwick.

De Proclamationibus faciendis.

Rex Vicecomiti Warwicensi et Leicestrensi salutem. Præcipimus tibi firmiter injungentes, quod statim, post receptionem præsentium, in singulis locis infra ballivam tuam, tam infra libertates quam extra, ubi magis expediens videris, ex parte nostra publicas proclamationes fieri facias, in hæc verba :— (*Close Rolls, 10 Edward IV. quoted by Mr. Halliwell.*)

The King's Proclamation.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased God of his goodness and grace to send to our Sovereign Lord the victory of his Rebels and Traitors of his shire of Lincoln, late assembled in great numbers, levying war against his Highness, contrary to their allegiance and duty; Our said Sovereign Lord, therefore, not willing his subjects, other than such as now attend upon his most Royal Person, to be put to charge, labour, and business, by virtue of his commissions of array, and other writing, (*of*) late addressed to divers shires, cities, and towns, for the resistence of the malicious and traitorous purposes of the said Rebels, wills, and in the most strait wise chargeth, that none of his subjects presume, nor take upon him, to raise nor make any assembly, or gathering, by reason of any of the said commissions, or writings, nor by money, stirring, writing, or commandment made, or hereafter to be made, by any person, or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he be of, 'less than it be by the King's commission, Privy-seal, or writing under his signet, of new to be made after this the thirteenth day of March.

And if any person, or persons presume, or take upon them, or him, to do the contrary hereof, our said Sovereign Lord will repute, and take him, and them so doing, as his Enemies and Rebels, and will proceed to their lawful punishing, in the [most] straitest wise, according to his Laws and Statutes in such case ordained.

Et hoc nullatenus omittas. Teste Rege apud Stamford xiii. die Martii.

(*Close Rolls*, 10 *Edward IV.*)

"Per Ipsum Regem."

(Here follow the names of counties.)

De Proclamationibus faciendis.

Rex Vicecomiti Eborum salutem. Præcipimus tibi, quod statim post receptionem præsentium, in singulis locis infra ballivam tuam, tam infra libertates quam extra, ubi magis expediens videris, ex parte nostra publicas proclamationes fieri facias in hæc verba :—

The King's proclamation against Clarence and Warwick.

Howbeit the King our Sovereign Lord granted unto George, Duke of Clarence, and Richard, Earl of Warwick, his pardon general of all offences committed, and done against him, before the feast of Christmas, last passed; trusting thereby to have caused them to have shewed unto him their natural love, allegiance, and duty; and to have assisted his Highness, as well in subduing (*the*) insurrections and rebellions, late made against him in the county of Lincoln, as in all other things concerning the surety of his person; and, in trust that they so would have done according to their promises to him made, his said Highness authorized them by his commission under his great seal to assemble his subjects in certain shires, and them to have brought to his said Highness, to the intent aforesaid;—yet the said Duke and Earl, unnaturally, unkindly, and untruly intending his destruction, and the subversion of his realm, and the commonweal of the same; and to make the said Duke King of this his said Realm, against God's law, man's law, and all reason, and conscience, dissembled with his said Highness, and, under colour thereof, falsely and traiterously provoked and stirred, as well by their writings as otherwise, Sir Robert Welles, late calling himself

Great Captain of the Commons of the said shire of Lincoln, to continue the said insurrections and rebellions, and to levy war against him, as they, by the same, so did with banners displayed, advancing themselves in plain battle, until the time his said Highness, by the help of God, put them to flight; wherein the said Duke and Earl promised to the said Sir Robert and Commons to have given them their assistance to the uttermost of their powers, and so would have done, if God had not given unto him the said victory, as the same Sir Robert Welles, Sir Thomas De la Lande, Richard Warren, and others have openly confessed; and shewed before his said Highness, the Lords of his blood, and the multitude of his subjects attending upon him in his host at this time; which Sir Robert Welles, and the said other petty captains, affirmed to be true at their deaths, uncompelled, unstirred, or undesired so to do; and as by the confession of the said Robert Welles, made under his writing and sign manual, it appeareth. And after that the said Duke and Earl, understanding and seeing that this their said labours would not serve to the performing of their false and traitorous purpose, before declared, laboured by their writings and messages sent into Yorkshire unto divers persons there, them straitly charging to [do] make open proclamations in their own names, without making mention of his said Highness, that all manner (*of*) men upon pain of death should come unto them, and give them their assurance in resisting of him; whereupon his said Highness sent unto the said Duke and Earl, by Garter, King of Arms, summonition and warning of their said accusations under his privy seal, straitly charging them to come unto his said Highness, reasonably accompanied according to their estates, and degrees, to answer unto their said accusations; which to do they presumptuously refused, and withdrew themselves, and fled with their fellowship into Lancashire; so as his said Highness with his host for lack of victual

Confession of Sir R. Welles, Sir Thos. De la Lande, and others.

might not follow them, to the intent that they might gather his subjects in greater number, and to be able to perform their said false, and traitorous purpose, and intent; for the which causes they have deserved to be published, as false traitors and rebels, and to have the uttermost punition of the law; yet never the less, our said Sovereign Lord considering the nighness of blood, that they be of unto him, and the tender love, which he hath afore time borne to them, were therefore loath to lese (*lose*) them, if they would submit them (*selves*) to his grace, and put him in surety of their good demeaning hereafter.

Offer of conditional pardon to Clarence and Warwick.

Wherefore our said Sovereign Lord will, and in the [most] straitest wise chargeth, the said Duke and Earl, that they, in their persons, come in humble and obeisant wise, and appear before his Highness, the twenty eighth day of this present month of March, Wednesday next, or before, wheresoever he then shall be, to answer unto the said accusations; which if they will so do, and come (*and*) declare themselves not guilty, his Highness will be thereof right glad, and have them in his grace and favour; and if they refuse thus to do, then our said Sovereign Lord reputeth, taketh, and declareth them as his rebels and traitors, willing and straitly charging all his subjects to do the same, and that none of his subjects from that time forth receive them, nor either of them aid, favour, nor assist with meat, drink, nor money, nor otherwise, nor none other person which, after the said Duke and Earl have refused to come to our said Sovereign Lord as is aforesaid, abideth with them, or aideth them, or assisteth in any wise; but that every (*one*) of the King's subjects put him (*self*) in effectual (*en*)deavour to take the said Duke and Earl, and all others so abiding with them, or aiding or assisting them, as is abovesaid, and them surely bring to his Highness upon pain of death;—And he that taketh and bringeth the said Duke or Earl shall have for his reward; to him and

Their fellowship denounced.

Reward for the appre-

his heirs, a hundred pounds worth of his land of yearly value, or a thousand pounds[6] in ready money, at his election; and for a knight twenty pounds worth of his land, or a hundred marks in money; and for a squire ten pounds worth of his land, or forty pounds in money; and over that cause our said Sovereign Lord to have him and them, so doing, in the more tender favour of his good grace at all times hereafter. hension of them.

Et hoc sub periculo incumbenti nullatenus omittas. Teste Rege apud Eborum 24 *die Martii.*

Similar Proclamations were issued from Nottingham and other towns, and had Edward followed them up with the necessary energy to give them effect, and have attended to the warning voice of the Duke of Burgundy, who had carefully watched the movements of Clarence and Warwick, he would not have been subjected to the singular vicissitude which befel him in the September following, by which he lost his kingdom without striking a blow, and fled in so miserable a plight that he had not wherewithal to pay his passage.[7]

The Earl of Warwick on the contrary was indefatigable in his exertions to restore Henry to the crown, as will be seen by the following contemporary Account of:— Warwick's active conduct at Angiers.

"The Manner and Guiding of the Earl of Warwick *at Angiers, from the xvth day of July to the ivth of August* 1470, *which day he departed from Angiers.*" (*Stowe's Transcripts, MS. Harl.* 543, p. 168, *quoted by Sir Henry Ellis.*)

"*First*, by the mean of the King of France,[8] the said Earl of Warwick purchased a pardon of the Queen

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[6] The reward being £100 per annum in land, or £1000 in money, shows the value of land to have been then equal to a ten years' purchase. This was a reward equal to £10,000 of present value.

[7] See Hearne's Fragment, p. 26 et seq., and Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 114 et seq.

[8] "Louis, who dreaded Edward's military abilities, and knew that he had publicly urged a descent in France, entered earnestly into Warwick's plans; and sought to effect a reconciliation between the Earl and the Queen, without which nothing effectual against Edward could be accomplished."—(*Turner.*)

The Earl's proposition.

Margaret and of her son. *Secondly*, by the said mean was treated the marriage of the said Queen's son called Prince of Wales, and the Earl of Warwick's second Daughter. *Thirdly*, there was appointed upon his passage over the sea into England with a puissance.

"Touching the first point, the said Queen was right difficile (*difficult*,) and showed to the King of France, being present the Duke of Guienne and many others, that with the honour of her and her son, he, neither she,

Queen Margaret's objections.

might [not,] nor could [not] pardon the said Earl, which hath been the greatest causes of the fall of King Henry, of her, and of their son, and that never of her own courage she neither might be contented with him nor pardon him.

"Item the said Queen shewed to the King and others aforesaid that it should be (*a*) thing greatly hurting and prejudicial to the King Henry, her, and her son, to pardon the said Earl of Warwick, [n]or to take party with him. And over this, that the King Henry, she, and her son had certain parties and friends which they might lightly lose by this mean, and that should be a thing that greatly might grieve them, and do them more harm and hinderance than the said Earl and his Allies might bring or bear unto them profit or advantage. Wherefore she besought the King that it would please him to leave off, or further to speak or labour for the said pardon, amity, or alliance aforesaid."

The Earl's excuse.

"*The Excuse and Answer of the Earl of Warwick unto Queen Margaret, &c., in these two Articles following:*"

"The Earl of Warwick, all these things (*having*) heard, said unto the Queen that he confessed well, that by his conduct and men the King Henry and she were put out of the Realm of England; but for an excuse and justification thereof, he shewed that the King Henry and she by their false Councel had enterprised the destruction of

him and his friends in body and in goods, which he never had deserved against them. And (*to*) him seemed that for such causes, and the great evil will that they have shewed him he had a righteous cause to labour their undoing and destruction, and that therein he had not done but that (*which*) a nobleman outraged and disperred (*impaired*) ought to have done. Also he said over that, and well confessed that he was causer of the upsetting (*on the throne*) of the King of England that now is; but now, seeing the evil terms that the King hath kept (*with*) him, and cast him out of the Realm, and, as much as he hath been with him in times past, now he will be as far contrary, and enemy unto him hereafter: beseeching there the Queen, and the said Prince, that so they would take and repute him, and forgive him that (*which*) in time past he had done and attempted against them: offering himself to be bound, by all manner of ways, to be their true and faithful subject in time to come, and upon that he would set for surety the King of France.[9] Whereunto the said King then being present agreed himself to be surety for all the promises with good will, praying the said Queen, that at his request she would pardon the said Earl of Warwick, shewing the great love that he had unto him, and that he was bound and beholden to the said Earl more than to any other man, and therefore he would do as much and more for him than for any man living."

"*The Earls of Warwick and Oxford pardoned of Queen Margaret and of her son Prince Edward.*" The Queen pardons Warwick and Oxford.

"And so the Queen, thus required by the King, as it is said, counselled also by the servants of the King of

[9] "Louis, who despised all feelings but those of personal advantage, and who built his reign on selfish ends, and unprincipled policy, willingly offered himself to Margaret, as the pledge of the Earl's fidelity."—(*Turner.*)

Sicily her Father, after many treaties and meetings, pardoned the Earl of Warwick, and so did her son also. And after that they pardoned the Earl of Oxford being with the Earl of Warwick; to whom the Queen said, that his pardon was easy to purchase, for she knew well that he and his friends had suffered much [thing] for King Henry's Quarrels."

Treaty of marriage between the Prince of Wales and Anne Neville.

"*Touching the manner of the Treaty of Marriage between the Prince and the Earl of Warwick's second daughter, with the Answer of Queen Margaret.*"

"Touching the second point, that is of marriage, true it is that the Queen would not in any wise consent thereunto for offer shewing, or any manner of request that the King of France might make her. Some times she said that she saw neither honour nor profit for her, nor for her son the Prince. At others she (*al*)-ledged that and (*if*) she would, she should find a more profitable party and of a more advantage *with the King* of *England*. And indeed, she shewed unto the King of France a letter which she said was sent her out of England the last week, *by the which was offered to her son* MY LADY THE PRINCESS;[10] and so the Queen persevered fifteen days ere she would any thing intend to the said Treaty of Marriage, the which finally, by the means and conduct of the King of France and the councilors of the King of Sicily being at Angiers, the said marriage was agreed and promised; present the King of France and the Duke of Guienne, by means of certain articles hereafter following."

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[10] "There were no princesses then in England, but Edward's daughters; and of these the eldest only, Elizabeth, could be thought of in such a project as this. The writer expresses himself as if a part of her household; and if so, this was an early plan to unite the houses of York and Lancaster, though by Edward's deposition."—(*Turner.*)

"*The Oath of the Earl of Warwick at Angiers sworn to King Henry.*

The Earl's oath of fealty to Henry VI.

"*First*, the Earl of Warwick sware upon the verrey (*true*) Cross in Saint Mary's Church of Angiers, that without change he shall always hold the party and quarrel of King Henry, and shall serve him, the Queen and the Prince, as a true and faithful subject oweth to serve his Sovereign Lord.

"*The Oath of the King of France, and of his Brother, and of the Queen Margaret.*

The oaths of Louis XI., Queen Margaret, etc.

"*Item*, the King of France, and his Brother, clothed in canons robes in the said Church of Saint Mary, sware that they should help, bear and sustain to their power the said Earl of Warwick holding the said quarrel of Henry. *And after this* the said Queen sware and promised from henceforth to [en]treat the said Earl as true and faithful to King Henry here, and the Prince, and for the deeds passed never hereafter to make him reproach.

"*Item*, in treating the foresaid marriage, it was promissed and accorded that after the recovery of the Realm of England, for and in the name of the said King Henry, he holden and avouched for (*as*) King, and the Prince for Regent and Governor of the said Realm, my Lord of Clarence shall have all the lands that he had when he departed out of England, and the Duchy of York, and many others, and the Earl of Warwick his, and others named in the appointment."

"*Touching the time when the Marriage shall be put in ure*[11] (*practice*)."

Time when the marriage shall take place.

"Item that from thence forth the said daughter of the Earl of Warwick shall be put and remain in the hands and keeping of Queen Margaret, and also that the said

[11] *Ure*, is used in this signification by Hooker.

marriage shall not be perfected to (*till*) the Earl of Warwick had been with an army over the Sea into England, and that he had recovered the realm of England in the most part thereof for the King Henry. Many other points were spoken of in the said Treaty of Marriage which were over long to (*be*) put in writing.

The French King's aid.

"*The aid of the French King, for the passage of the Earl of Warwick into England.*"

"Touching the point concerning the Earl of Warwick's passage, truth it is that the Earl every day gave to understand, and yet doth to the King of France, that he hath Letters often from Lords of England containing that as soon as he shall be landed there, he shall have more than fifty thousand fighters at his commandment; wherefore the said Earl promised the King that if he would help him with a few folk, ships and money, he shall pass over the sea without any delay, and upon these his words and promises to the King, he hath spent and daily spendeth great sums of money for entertaining the state of him and his, and beside that, hath helpen in victual for his ships of sixty-six thousand scutes, containing two thousand frank (*French*) archers, etc. . ."[12]

Of the following letter says Stowe, "divers copies were made and set upon the Standard in Cheap, upon the stulpes on London bridge, and upon divers church doors in London, and in other places of England, before the coming in and landing of the said Duke and Earl out of France, to the enlarging of King Henry out of the Tower of London, and to the upsetting of him

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[12] "The original of Charles Duke of Guienne's engagement to assist Henry the Sixth, Queen Margaret, and Edward Prince of Wales, approving also of the marriage of the Prince with the Earl of Warwick's daughter, signed by himself at Angiers, July 30th, 1470, is still preserved in the Cottonian MS. Vesp. F. III."—(*Sir H. Ellis.*)

again unto his estate and dignity royal in the time of Richard Lee, grocer, then being Mayor, the which took down the said letters, and would not suffer them to be openly known, nor seen to the commons."

(*Stowe's Transcripts*, No. 543, *Harl. MSS. quoted by Sir H. Ellis.*)—The Duke of Clarence's and Warwick's letter from France.

George Duke of Clarence[13] and Lord of Richmond, and Richard, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, *Great Chamberlain of England and Captain of Calais, to the worshipful, discreet, and true Commons of England, greeting.* It is we doubt not notarily (notoriously) and openly known unto you all, how uncourteously that in late days we have been entreated, taken and accepted for the true hearts, tender zeals, loves and affections that God knoweth we have ever borne and entend before all things earthly, to the weal of the Crown and the advancing of the Common Weal of England; and for reproving of falsehood and oppression of the poor people; God and our deeds our Judge. Estranged also therefore from our friends and livelihood not (*a*) little, and from the land and natural place of our births, by the false means and subtle dissimulations of such certain covetous and seditious persons, as have guided and been about the estate Royal of the Realm, which have ever had a more particular respect to their own singular and insatiable covetousness, and to the magnifying of their friends and adherents, than they have had to the Majesty Royal, or to the things publick of the true commonality of the Realm; as daily and hourly is now by their deeds proved amongst you by experience, to the great hurt, impoverishing and the utter destruction of you and the Realm, like to be aliened and governed by strangers and outward nations if the said covetous persons may rule as

The King's favourites denounced.

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[13] "In this address, it is manifest, that they attempted to delude their supporters into a belief, that they intended no personal attack upon Edward, but only on his obnoxious friends; and it was this deception, which dethroned him; for they who would have fought zealously for his person and crown, would not oppose those whom, they thought, only wished to produce his reformation, and better government."—(*Turner.*)

they have done; and never like(*ly*) to be recovered without God's help; the most lamentable and piteous thing to be abhorred with every true christian man dreading God, or loving the weals of his Realm and his neighbours, that ever was. We, therefore, established and steadfastly persevering in our old customs, bearing and having faithfully toward the said Crown and common weal of England as fervent zeal, love and affection as ever we had, begrudging of the great enormities and inordinate impositions, contrary to law and all good customs, newly laid upon you, and also greatly sorrowing and abhorred of the cruel and detestable tyranny, the vengeful murder and manslaughter reigning among you. Wherefore we intend, by the Grace of God, and the help of every well disposed man, in right short time, to put us in deboure (*endeavour*) to the uttermost of our powers, to subdue and put under falsehood and oppression; chastise and punish the said covetous persons in perpetual example to all others; and to set right and justice to (*in*) their places, to see them equally ministered and indifferently, without mede (*reward*) or dread, as they ought to be, and to reduce and redeem for ever the said Realm from thraldom of all outward nations, and make it as free within itself as ever it was heretofore. And for the furthering and more perfect performing hereof, we call first to our aid, help and assistance of Almighty God, his blessed Mother and glorious Virgin Saint Mary, with all the whole Company of Heaven; secondly the blessed and holy Martyr Saint George, our patron, and every true Englishman dreading God, loving his realm and the weal of his neighbours; and thirdly we shall for our discharges in that behalf both against God and man, put us in our uttermost duty, that we can or may; and thereupon jeopard(*ize*) both our lives, bodies, and goods. In witness whereof to this our writing we have put our signets, and subscribed it with our own hands."

Upon the receipt of this letter, King Edward sent the following summons to the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick:

(*Stowe's Transcripts*, No. 543, *Harl. MSS.*) —King Edward's reply.

"Brother we (*have*) been informed how ye have laboured, contrary to natural kindness and duty of allegiance,[14] divers matters of great poise (*weight*) and also how Proclamations have been made in your name and of our cousin of Warwick, to assemble our liege people, no mention made of Us. Furthermore letters missives sent in like manner for like cause. Howbeit, we will not forget that (*which*), to us appertaineth, and that is to call you to your declaration in the same, and to receive you thereunto if ye will come, as it fitteth a liege man to come to his sovereign lord in humble wise; and if ye so do, indifference and equity shall be by us well remembered, and so as no reasonable man, godly disposed, shall more think, but that we shall [en]treat you according to your nighness of blood and our laws. Wherefore, our disposition thus plainly to you declared, We will, and charge you, upon the faith and truth that ye naturally owe to bear unto us, and upon pain of your allegiance that ye, departing your fellowship in all haste, after the sight of this, adress you to our presence humbly and measureably accompanied, and so as is convenient for the cause above-

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[14] Commines gives an insight into the intrigues of the period. "About this time," he says, "a lady of the household of the Duchess of Clarence came to France, who brought secret overtures of peace from King Edward."—"The secret, with which this lady was entrusted, was to remonstrate with Clarence that he should not cause the destruction of his own house, by aiding to replace the authority of that of Lancaster; that he should consider their ancient enmity and offences; and that he would easily perceive by the Earl's having married his daughter to the Prince of Wales, it was, no doubt, his intention to make him King, and had already paid homage to him."—"And so well did this lady execute her mission, that the Duke of Clarence promised to side again with his brother, when he should have returned to England." — (*Commines*, p. 190.) This secret understanding was kept up by the King and his brother during the exile of the former, till they were publicly reconciled at Warwick; for in the contemporary account, given at page 50, will be seen the various means employed during the whole period, to accomplish this object, by the different members of the Royal Family.

said; letting you weet (*know*) that if ye do not so, but continue the unlawful assembly of our people in perturbation and contempt of our peace and commandment, we must proceed (that (*which*) we were loath to do) to the punishment of you, to the grievous example of all other (*of*) our subjects. Upon the which if there follow any effusion of Christian blood of our subjects of this our Realm, we take God and our blessed Lady, Saint George, and all the Saints in Heaven to our witness, that ye be only charged with the same, and not We.

Given, etc.

" To our brother Clarence;" and the like Letter (*mutatis mutandis*) " to the Earl of Warwick."

" This Letter," says Sir Henry Ellis, " is again followed by the Proclamation which was issued by the Duke and Earl upon their landing; the form of the safe conducts which they granted; and the Articles of advertisement sent by the Prince to the Earl of Warwick, his father-in-law to be shewn to King Henry, for establishing a new Council and Household; the latter upon a reduced scale. The following is the last of these articles; ' Item forasmuch as the King is now in great poverty, and may not yet sustain the expenses of so great a household as he kept sometime, nor he is yet purveyed of vessel and other hostlements of household honourable and convenient for him, and also his costs now upon establishment will be greater than any man can certainly esteem, it is thought good that it will please his Highness to forbear all this first year the keeping of his worshipful and great Household; and be in all that time in such a sure place or places, as his most noble Grace can think best for his health and pleasance, with little (*few*) people, and without resuming and taking again in all that year of the servants of his old household, but such as necessity shall cause him. For if he take within

that time any of them, the remnaunte (*remainder*) will grudge for their absence; and also they that he (*who*) be thus taken will not leave importune (*importunity*) to have unto them all, their old fellowship, which shall be noyfull (*hurtful*) and great noye (*hurt*) to himself and to all those that shall be about him for that year.' "

Having landed in August 1470,[15] Warwick threw off the mask, and openly proclaimed his intention of restoring Henry the Sixth, his former letter, sent from abroad, having studiously avoided all mention of a personal attack upon Edward. He immediately issued this Proclamation:

"JESVS. MARIA. JOHANNES.

(*Chart. Ant. Cotton. Brit. Mus.* No. XVII. *quoted by Mr. Halliwell.*)—Proclamation in favour of Henry Sixth.

" - - - The most noble and Christian Prince, our most dread Sovereign Lord, King Harry the Sixth, very true undoubted King of England and of France, now being in the hands of his rebels, and (*of*) great enemy, Edward, late the Earl of Marche, usurper, oppressor, and destroyer of our said Sovereign Lord, and of the noble blood of the realm of England, and of the true commons of the same, by his mischievous and inordinate new founded laws and ordinances inconvenient, to the uttermost destruction of the good commons of the said realm of England; if it so should continue for the reformation whereof, in especial for the commonweal of all the said realm, the right high and mighty Prince George, Duke (*of*) Clarence, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, Richard, Earl of Warwick, and John, Earl of Oxford, as very and true faithful cousins, subjects, and liege men to our said sovereign Lord King Harry the Sixth, by sufficient authority committed unto them in this behalf, by the whole voice and assent of the Most Noble Princess Margaret, Queen of England, (and the Right High and Mighty Prince Edward,) at this time being Queen,[16] unto this realm to put them in their

[15] In a letter dated Augt. 5th, Sir John Paston writes: "the Lords Clarence and Warwick will essay to land in England every day, as folks fear."

[16] Thus in the MS.

most uttermost [en]deavour to deliver our said Sovereign Lord out of his great captivity, and danger of his enemies, unto his liberty, and by the grace of God to rest him in his Royal estate, and crown of this his said realm of England, and reform . . . . and amend all the great mischievous oppressions, and all other inordinate abuses, now reigning in the said realm, to the perpetual peace, prosperity, to the common welfare of this realm. Also it is fully concluded and granted that all mail men within the realm of England, of what(*ever*) estate, degree, condition that they be of, be fully pardoned of all manner (*of*) treason or trespass imagined or done, in any manner of wise contrary to their legeyns, (*allegiance*) against our sovereign Lord the King, the Queen, and my Lord the prince, before the day of coming and entry of the said Duke and Earls in this said realm; so that they put them in their uttermost [en]deavour, and at this time draw them to the company of the said Duke and Earls, to help and to fortify them in their purpose and journey; except such persons as be capital enemies to our said Sovereign Lord, without punishment of the which, good peace and prosperity of this realm cannot be had; and except all such as at this time make any resistance against the said Duke and Earls, or any of them, or of their company. Also the said Duke and Earls, in the name and behalf of our said Sovereign Lord, King Harry the Sixth, charging and commanding that all manner of men, that be between sixteen years and fifty, incontinently and immediately after this proclamation (*be*) made, be ready, in their best array defensible, to attend and await upon the said Duke and Earls, to assist them in their journey, to the intent afore rehearsed, upon pain of death and forfeiture of all that they (*may forfeit*) within the realm of England, except such persons as be visited with sickness, or, with such noune (*not of*) power that they may not go."

(*Commines*, p. 191.) "Within five or six days after the landing of the Earl of Warwick, he found himself all powerful, and within a

few miles of King Edward, who still had considerable forces." And further on he says, "one evil is always followed by another. Fifteen days ago Edward was in full power, and had any one told him that the Earl of Warwick should drive him from the throne, and within eleven days obtain the dominion, he would have laughed at him, as he did at the Duke of Burgundy's expending his money in defending the seas against him, saying: "let him but land, and then I shall have nothing to fear." Edward, however, having been forced to fly to the continent, Warwick's Proclamation of the restoration of King Henry the Sixth, made Clarence aware of the false step he had taken, and assisted to pave the way to the ultimate reconciliation of the brothers.

CHAPTER V.

The Royal Brothers, Edward IV. George, Duke of Clarence, and Richard the Third.

Disputes between Clarence and Gloucester.

The events subsequent to the flight of Edward into Holland,—his return, reconciliation with Clarence, and reconquest of the country; the Battles of Barnet, and Tewkesbury; the Deaths of Warwick, Edward, Prince of Wales, and Henry VI., all followed in rapid succession, and have been already fully detailed.[1] His negociations for the internal welfare of the country, it's commercial prosperity, and the reduction of taxes; his treaties of Peace with Scotland and France, and of Alliance with Burgundy and Bretagne, have also been related in the preceding pages.

[1] See Fleetwood's MS., wherein all these events are detailed with the minuteness of an eye-witness.

Richard demands Lady Anne Neville in marriage,

The death of the Earl of Warwick, and the Prince of Wales gave rise to Edward's youngest brother, the Duke of Gloucester, demanding the hand of the Lady Anne Neville, the daughter of the former, and betrothed[2] of the latter, in marriage. The immense property of the Earl of Warwick had been derived from two sources, his inheritance from his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and the possessions of his wife, Anne, sole heiress of the princely estates and revenues of the Beauchamps. Since the death of her husband she had taken sanctuary at Beverley, and had been "*conveyed northward by Sir J. Tyrrel, men say by the King's assent, whereto some men say, that the Duke of Clarence is not agreed.*" This lady was the undoubted heiress to the property of her father and late brother, and entitled to the dower settled upon her by her late husband. Nevertheless her claims were entirely overlooked, and to obtain a portion of the immense wealth of the Nevilles was now the chief cause of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, seeking the alliance with the sister of his brother's wife. Clarence, in right of his wife, sought to claim the whole of the inheritance; whilst Gloucester determined to create as good a title to it by marrying the Lady Anne. To prevent this Clarence disguised and concealed her; but Richard, having found her, in the dress of a menial, had her conveyed to the sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-Grand, for greater security. The King then expostulated with Clarence on his conduct, when the latter, forgetting both equity and his own honour, replied: "*he may well have my Lady, sister-in-law, but we shall part no livelihood.*" Matters continued in this state for some time, and from the Paston Letters we glean that it was more than probable that

(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 145.)

whom he finds disguised as a menial. (*Croyl. Cont.* p. 557.)

Clarence objects to a division of the Earl's property.— (*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 92.)

[2] It is clear from the MS. quoted at page 233, that, what is usually termed the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Lady Anne Neville, was only a conditional betrothment. See also Turner's Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 327.

both parties would resort to arms to bring this quarrel to an issue. A.D. 1474.

In 1473 Sir John Paston writes thus: "The King hath sent for his great-seal; some say, we shall have a new Chancellor, but some think, that the King doth as he did at the last fields, he will have the Seal with him, but this day Doctor Morton, Master of the Rolls, rideth to the King, and beareth the seals with him." It was always Edward's practice to carry the great-seal with him in the Civil wars to prevent its falling into improper hands. In the same letter the cause of his doing so on this occasion is hinted at, "for the world seemeth queasy (*unsettled*) here; for the most part (*they*) that be about the King have sent hither for their Harness, and it (*is*) said for certain, that the Duke of Clarence maketh him (*self*) big in that he can, shewing that he would but (*merely*) deal with the Duke of Gloucester; but the King intendeth, in eschewing all inconvenience, to be as big as they both, and to be a stiffler atween them; and some men think, that under this, there should be some other thing intended, and some treason conspired." Edward takes the Great Seal with him,—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 127.) and determines to be a stiffler between them.

The Duke of Gloucester, however, ultimately married the Lady Anne without the Duke of Clarence's consent, and by the mediation of the King matters were apparently amicably adjusted, though as will be seen in the sequel, the brothers never after looked upon each other with affection. Marriage of Gloucester.

The following acts of Parliament settled the division of the property. "The King by the common consent, granteth, that *George* Duke of Clarence, and *Isabel*, his wife, and *Richard* Duke of Gloucester, and *Anne*, his wife, daughters and heirs to Richard Neville, late Earl of Warwick, and daughters and heirs apparent to Anne Countess of Warwick, shall enjoy to them, and to the heirs of their said wives, all the hereditaments belonging to the said Anne, *in such wise as if the said Anne were dead;* and that their said wives should be of blood to (*Prynne's Tower Records.*) Settlement of the property.

A.D. 1474. the said Anne, and enjoy all benefits accordingly, and the said Anne therefore for ever barred.

"That the said Dukes and their wives, and the heirs of their said wives, may make partition of the premises to be good in Law; and that the said Dukes, or either of them, over-living his wife, shall during his life enjoy her property.

"That all alienations, discontinuances, charges, and incumbrances, suffered by any of the said Dukes, or their wives, to debar the other of their said properties, to be utterly void."

"*That if the said Duke of Gloucester be at any time after divorced from the said Anne, after newly her marriage, and suffer any such incumbrances, as above, to be void. And further, if the said Duke Richard, upon such divorce, doth the uttermost*[3] *to be reconciled during his wife's life, that then after the death of his said wife, he shall enjoy her property.* A provision that the said Dukes, and their wives, might exchange with the King the Lordship, Manor, and Wapentake of Chesterfield and Scurnsdale with the appurtenances in the same."

"At the Petition of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the King spareth the attainting of John Neville, late Marquis Montacute,[4] and by authority of Parliament giveth to the said Duke, and to the heirs of his body, sundry honours, Baronies, Castles, Manors, and other hereditaments which late were Richard Neville's late Earl of Warwick's.

"The like estate, by authority of Parliament, the King giveth to his brother George Duke of Clarence, of and in the Manors of Clavering with the appurtenance

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[3] There was some informality in the marriage, which may be inferred from the whole of this passage printed in Italics.

[4] "To preclude any claim from the son of the Marquis of Montague, Warwick's brother, it was enacted that Clarence and Gloucester, and their heirs, should enjoy certain lands, the former property of the Earl, as long as there should exist any male issue of the body of the Marquis."—(*Lingard.*)

in Essex, and Mantion, or Meason called the Harber and two Houses adjoining thereto in London, which late were the said Earls of Warwick." A.D. 1474.

Thus ended this pecuniary struggle of the brothers in 1474, but the Croyland Doctor observes "this dissention was an incurable affair." (*Croyland Contin.* p. 557.)

We now come to the darkest blot in the character of Edward. He had never forgiven Clarence his treason when he joined the Earl of Warwick. The recent disputes respecting the property of the great Earl though apparently settled to the satisfaction of all parties, still rankled in the breasts of each of the brothers. Shortly after his return from France, the King resumed several Royal grants, formerly made to Clarence, upon which the Duke began to withdraw himself, by degrees, from the King's Court and Council. Being now a widower, (for after the birth of her third child, the Duchess fell into a state of debility,[5] which carried her off, within two months,) he resided chiefly upon his estate, attending to the education of his son Edward, the unfortunate Earl of Warwick, who was basely murdered by the heartless Henry, in November 1499, after having been kept a prisoner in the Tower for fourteen years, his only crime consisting in his being the last of the Plantagenets.

A.D. 1476. Dec. 26. Quarrel of Edward and Clarence.

Death of the Duchess.

It was at this period that the Duke of Burgundy was killed at the Battle of Nanci, and his immense possessions devolved on Mary, his only daughter. "Her mother," says the Croyland Chronicle, "sought to wed her

Clarence seeks to marry his niece, Mary of Burgundy. —(*Croyland Contin.* p. 557.)

[5] Anckenett Twyndowe, one of her female servants, was tried, condemned, and executed on the charge of having administered poison to the Duchess. The injustice of the sentence was afterwards acknowledged by Parliament, for, "at the Petition of Roger Twyndowe, Esquire, cousin and heir of Anckenett Twyndowe, late wife of William Twyndowe, Esquire, deceased; viz. son of John, son of the said William and Anckenett, the judgement, and process had against the said Anckenett at Ware, Anno 16. E. 4. for poisoning of Isabel, late the wife of George Duke of Clarence, is utterly repealed."

"It is to be noted, that the said Anckenett suffered death for the act aforesaid at Ware, whose indictment, and process thereon, is annexed to the record."—(*Prynne's Tower Records*, p. 703.)

A.D. 1476. to the Duke of Clarence, who had always been her favourite brother." The Queen solicited the King to second her views in favour of her brother, the Earl Rivers, and Edward, jealous of the power which the possession of Burgundy would confer upon his brother, whose ambition he dreaded, readily acquiesced, but his offer was repulsed with disdain by Margaret. This decided opposition to Clarence's wishes on the part of the King led to a greater estrangement between the brothers, and from an allusion in a letter of Sir John Paston's, dated, Feb. 14th 1476, it is probable that it was considered likely to lead to an open rupture.

(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 205.)

"*To John Paston, Esquire, at Norwich, in haste.*

I recommend me to you, letting you weet, that yesterday began the great Council, to which all the Estates of the Land shall come [to], but if (*unless*) it be for great and reasonable excuses; and I suppose the chief cause of this Assembly is, to commune what is best to do, now upon the great change by the death of the Duke of Burgundy, and for the Keeping of Calais, and the Marches, and for the preservation of the Amities taken lately, as well with France, as now with the members of Flanders; whereto I doubt not there shall be in all haste both the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, whereof I would that my brother Edmund wist. . . . I hear this day great likelihood that my Lord Hastings shall hastily go to Calais with your Company. . . . . *It seemeth that the world is all quavering, it will reboil somewhere*, so that I deem young men shall be cherished, take your heart to you!

Threatened open rupture between the brothers.

I fear that I cannot be excused, but that I shall forth with my Lord Hastings over the Sea, but I shall send you word in haste, and if I go, I hope not to tarry long. . . . . .

JOHN PASTON, *Knight.*

London, Friday, Feb. 14. 1466.

At the Council alluded to in the above letter, vigorous measures were recommended to be adopted against Louis the Eleventh, whose troops were already overrunning the inheritance of Edward's niece. "Edward, however, had no mind to involve himself in a new war. The 50,000 crowns being also punctually paid him by the French King, softened his heart, and hindered him from concerning himself in that affair. Besides, his ambassadors were always bribed, entertained so nobly, and left the French court so well satisfied, that no exceptions could be taken, though the answer of Louis was always uncertain, in order to gain time, assuring them, that in a few days he would send an embassy of his own, that would satisfy their master in every point." Accordingly we find the French King continued his conquest of the orphan's territory, and on the 14th of April, 1477, Sir John Paston thus writes from Calais: "the French King hath gotten many of the towns of the Duke of Burgundy, as St. Quinten, Abbeville, Montreuil; and now of late he hath gotten Bethune and Hedynge (*Hesden*) with the Castle there, which is one of the most regal castles in the world; and on Sunday, at even, the Admiral of France, laid siege at Boulogne; and this day, it is said, that the French King shall come thither; and this night it is said, that there was a vision seen about the walls of Boulogne, as it had been a woman with a marvellous light; men deem that our Lady there, will show herself a Lover to the town: God forefend that it were French; it were worth 40,000£. that it were English." . . . . . And in another letter, from Sir Edward Bedingfield,[6] dated Aug. 17th, "the French King lieth at Siege at St. Omers, on the one side of the town a mile off, but he hath no great ordnance there; and they of the town skirmish with them every day, and

A.D. 1477.

(*Commines*, p. 481.) Artful conduct of Louis.

His campaign in Burgundy;—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 247.)

takes St. Quentin, Abbeville, Montreuil, Bethune, and Hesden.

Besieges Boulogne,

and St. Omers.—(*Ibid.* p. 253.)

[6] Sir Edmund Bedingfield was created a Knight of the Bath, at the Coronation of Richard the Third. He was highly in favour with Henry VII. who paid him a Royal Visit at Oxburgh, in Norfolk. He died in 1496.

A.D. 1477. keep a passage half a mile without the town; and the French King hath brenned (*burnt*) all the towns and fair abbies, that were that way about St. Omers, and also the corns, which are there.

Ravages Cassell and the country about. And also, as it is said for certain, the French King hath burned Cassell, that is my old Lady of Burgundy's Jointure, and all the Country thereabout, whereby she hath lost a great part of her livelihood; and that is a shrewd token that he meaneth well to the King,[7] our Sovereign Lord, when he intendeth to destroy her.

Crevecœur destroys Fynes. Moreover Sir Philip de Crevecœur hath taken them that were in Fynes within this four days to the number of fourteen persons, and the remanent were fled, and he had them to the French King, and he hath burnt all the place, and pulled down the Tower, and a part of the wall, and destroyed it. And as it is said, if the French King cannot get St. Omers, that he intendeth to bring his Army through these Marches into Flanders, where-

Measures of defence. fore my Lord hath do broken (*ordered to be broken*) all the passages, except Newham Bridge, which is watched, and the Turnpike shut every night.

And the said French King within these three days railed greatly of my Lord to Tiger Poursuivant openly before two hundred of his folks; wherefore it is thought here, that he would feign a quarrel to set upon this town if he might get advantage. And as I understand, the

Archduke Maximilian at Ghent. Emperor's son is married at Ghent as this day, and there came with him but four hundred Horse, and I can hear of no more that be coming in certain; and in money he brought with him a hundred thousand ducats, which is but

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[7] "Edward, soothed with the hope of his daughter's aggrandizement, looked on without any other interference than sending ambassadors to mediate a peace for Burgundy. Louis spoke kindly, and treated them magnificently; but instead of abstaining from the gratification of his ambition, invited Edward to share the spoil with him. Edward did not disdain the partition; but wished Picardy, which adjoined Calais, instead of Flanders and Brabant, that had to be conquered, for his part. Louis preferred Picardy for the same reasons which made the King of England desire it."—(*Turner.*)

a small thing in regard for that he hath to do; where- A.D. 1477.
fore I fear me sore, that Flanders will be lost; and if St. Omers be won, all is gone in my conceit; nevertheless they say there should come great power after the Emperor's son, but I believe it not, because they have been so long of coming."

Marriage of Mary of Burgundy.

By her marriage with the Archduke Maximilian Mary of Burgundy was provided with a natural protector, by whose means her country was preserved from utter annihilation. About the same period that these events took place upon the continent, the animosity between the King and Clarence increased to such a degree, as to destroy the slight remains of fraternal affection which still existed between them. "While they were thus irritated against each other," says Lingard, "whether it were the effect of accident, or a preparatory step to the ruin of Clarence, Stacey, one of his clergymen, was accused of practicing the art of magic, and of melting certain images of lead to accelerate the death of the Lord Beauchamp. On the rack he named as his accomplice Thomas Burdett, a gentleman of the Duke's household. They were arraigned together before the judges and most of the temporal peers; and after a short trial were condemned and executed. But on the scaffold both protested against the sentence: Clarence[8] immediately professed himself the champion of their innocence: and the next day Dr. Goddard, an eminent divine, was introduced by him into the council chamber to depose to their dying

Further rupture between Clarence and the King.—(*Contin. Croyland*, p 561, 562.)

Execution of Stacey and Burdett.

Clarence defends them.

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[8] The act of attainder, in 1477, after mentioning the previous conduct which the King had forgiven, accused him "of contriving the destruction of the King and his issue, to subvert the government; of causing his servants to sow sedition; of giving his retainers money to assemble the people, and feast them on venison dinners; and to persuade them that his esquire, Burdett had been wrongfully put to death; of saying that the King poisoned his subjects by necromancy; and declaring *that the King was illegitimate*, from the incontinency of his mother, and had taken his livelihood from him, and intended to consume him as a candle perishes in burning; of inducing several of the King's subjects to swear fealty to himself; and of attempting to get a strange child into his castle to pass for his son."—(*Turner.*)

A.D. 1477. declarations. When these particulars, exaggerated perhaps by officious friends, had been communicated to Edward, he hastened from Windsor to London, sent for the Duke, upbraided him with insulting the administration of justice, and in the presence of the mayor and sheriffs committed him to the Tower."

The bill of attainder, in the Parliamentary Rolls, a long and laboured document, put forth by the King himself has been already quoted.[8] At the trial Edward appeared in person as prosecutor, and the peers, persuaded by the eloquence of the Royal accuser, pronounced Clarence guilty; and the Duke of Buckingham, who had been sworn in Lord High Steward for the occasion passed the sentence of death upon him. Immediately after this, the sentence on Anckenett Twyndowe was reversed,[7] and the Commons petitioned the King to execute justice on his brother. *In the same parliament all the acts passed during the short restoration of King Henry the Sixth were repealed;* and the young Duke of Bedford, George Neville,[9] son of the Marquis of Montague, to whom the Princess Elizabeth had been originally affianced, was deprived of his title, on the pretence that he had not an income equal to the support of it.

A.D. 1471, 7 February.—(*Parl. Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 195.)

Edward was averse to carry out the sentence, but the servile parliament, now urged on by the family of the Queen, represented to him "that justice was a virtue of the Most High, which the King was bound to follow, first, *for his own security;* secondly, for the defence of the Church; and thirdly for the public good." On the 17th of February 1478 it was reported that the Duke had died in the Tower, and the Croyland historian, the

Execution of Clarence, 17 Feb. 1478.

[9] "Whereas the King had created George Nevil, the son of John Nevil, late Marquess of Montacute, and made him Duke of Bedford, the King, by authority of Parliament, revoketh the said Creation, and all titles of honour, as well from the said George, and from the said John." — (*Prynne's Tower Records.*)

only contemporary authority at that time resident in England, merely says: "whatever was the manner of it, justice was executed upon him."[10] The story of the butt of malmsey takes it's rise from a digression on English Affairs, in the First Book of the Memoires of Philippe de Commines, from whence it was copied by Fabian, Hall and Grafton. As there is no authentic account of this execution preserved in any of our public documents, and as the only contemporary English Authority does not mention that such a report was in circulation at the time, we may conclude that the manner of his death was a state secret, and gave rise to various conjectures.[11] Commines, who wrote in the Reign of Henry VII, merely recorded what was the prevalent opinion at that period; and as well might Voltaire's story of the Iron-mask be adduced as veracious history, as the Malmsey butt be considered the authentic manner of the execution of Clarence.[12]

A.D. 1478.

(*Commines*, p. 48.)

The cause of Edward's Cruelty and Injustice to his brother.

There is one circumstance to which reference has been made, which probably will account for the execution of Clarence. *In the parliament which met immediately after the restoration of Henry the Sixth, on the 26th of November* 1470 *Edward had been declared an usurper*, and all his goods confiscated, etc. The succession of the crown was settled upon the Prince of Wales, Son of

(*Croyland Contin.* p. 562.)

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[10] "Factum est id, qualemcunque erat, genus supplicii." — (*Croyl. Contin.* p. 562.) His body was interred by the side of his Duchess, at Tewkesbury.

[11] Shakspere represents him as having been first stabbed by one of the murderers, after which his body was hid in the butt of Malmsey, to conceal the murder; a story quite as probable as the other.

[12] There is another story, more in accordance with the spirit of the times, though equally improbable, connected with the fate of Clarence. "Some have reported," says Holinshed, "that the cause of this nobleman's death rose out of a foolish prophecy, which was that after King Edward should reign, one whose first letter of his name should be G; wherewith the King and the Queen were sore troubled, and began to conceive a grievous grudge against the Duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end." Commines says, "the English were ever furnished with some prophecy, by which they accounted for every event."

A.D. 1478. Henry the Sixth, and his issue, *and in default, upon the Duke of Clarence and his issue*. Although seven years had elapsed since the passing of *that act, it was still unrepealed, and therefore according to the constitution of the Kingdom, the Duke of Clarence was now the lawful King* "*de jure*," though Edward, by right of conquest was King "*de facto*." That Edward must have had some misgivings, about this time, as to his legal title to the throne, is evident, for *immediately after the conviction of his brother, he was most careful to have* "*all the Acts of the 49th year of the Reign of King Henry VI repealed*."[13]

Clarence the idol of the people.

Clarence, after the death of Warwick, had enjoyed great popularity which brought upon him the envy of the King, of the Duke of Gloucester, and of the Queen's family. "On the death of Clarence," says the Croyland Chronicle, "*all the idols were now exterminated, on which the eyes of the people, ever desirous of novelty, were accustomed to be turned.*" May we not, therefore, reasonably conclude that the officious meddling of those about the King may have coupled *the popularity of Clarence, and the danger from the unrepealed act of attainder of himself*, together in the King's mind, and thus have caused Edward to commit an act of cruel injustice, which he ever after bitterly repented, for "when any man had kneeled to him, and asked pardon for an offender, he would say: "Oh! unfortunate brother, that no man would ask thy pardon!"

(*Hardyng's Chronicle*, folio 29.)

Clarence's family, Margaret Countess of Suffolk and Edward Earl of Warwick.

Clarence left "two children, one the Lady Margaret, that was afterwards married to Richard de la Pole (Earl of Suffolk) the other Edward, whom the King made Earl of Warwick, but this child following the fate and

[13] The last article in the act of attainder seems to refer to this as the real cause of the trial of Clarence; for in it he is accused "*that he had openly shown his design to dethrone the King*, in procuring an authentic copy of the acts of parliament passed during the Earl of Warwick's usurpation, whereby the Crown was adjudged to him, after the death of Warwick."—(*Rapin*, vol. v. p. 110.)

destiny of his father,[14] was afterwards put in prison and after that put to death; and so was the daughter sixty years after."[15] The rival of Clarence for the hand of the Princess Mary of Burgundy, Anthony, Earl of Rivers, obtained most of his confiscated estates, though a few were given to the Duke of Gloucester, and to Lord Howard. The wardship of his heir was entrusted to the Marquis of Dorset,[16] the Queen's son. Whoever the parties were that poisoned the royal ears against him, the real murderers of the Duke of Clarence were the two servile houses of parliament, who throughout the struggle of the Rival Roses appear only to have consulted the wishes of the party in power.

A.D. 1478.

Earl Rivers obtains his confiscated estates.—(*Cal. Rot.* p. 323.)

The Marquis of Dorset made guardian to his son.—(*Ibid.* 325.)

His death a legal murder.

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[14] See p. 245.

[15] This murder took place in her 70th year, May 27th 1541 by command of her unnatural relative, the tyrant Henry VIII, who to revenge himself on her son, the celebrated Cardinal Pole, had already executed his brother, the Lord Montague in Jan. 1539, and banished his younger brother, Sir Geoffrey Pole, who under the infliction of the torture was made to confess crimes of which he was guiltless, and at the same time to accuse his brother, the Lord Montague, the Marquis of Exeter, and Sir Edward Neville, for which he obtained his life, whilst they were executed Jan. 9, 1539.

[16] "In the Parliament begun, and holden at Westminster the sixth day of October in Anno 12 Ed. IV. and by sundry prorogations continued unto the sixth of June in Anno 14 Ed. IV. It was enacted, that Katherine, the wife of William Hastings Knight, Lord Hastings, and before the wife of Bonville late Lord Harrington the younger Cousin and heir to William Lord Harrington the younger and cousin and heir apparent of William before Lord Bonville should for, and during her life, enjoy the Manors of Chatou, Thurle-Bare, and Mariot in Somersetshire, and certain lands in Foxhill in Devonshire, together with the Dominion or Manor of Aldingham, the Manor, or Castle of Gleston, with lands in sundry other Counties, to the value of 500 marks, parcel of the inheritance of the said Lord Bonville and Harrington and to her assured. And where the said Lord Harrington, and Bonville the younger had issue by the said Katherine one only daughter called Cecil, a marriage should be had; It was accorded, that at the age of 13 years of the said Cecil a marriage should be had between the said Cecil, and Thomas the eldest son of the Queen, between whom if there were no mutual society, that then the said Cecil should marry with Richard the brother of the said Thomas.

"It is also enacted, that the said Cecil at the age of 14 years may assure all her hereditaments to the said Thomas and Richard, for, and during their lives, as aforesaid."—(*Prynne's Tower Records.*)

A.D. 1478.

CHAPTER VII.

The Royal Brothers, Edward the Fourth, and Richard Duke of Gloucester.

RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

RICHARD, Duke of Gloucester, after the death of Clarence was considered the head of the ancient nobility, who since the fall of Warwick had become almost as formidable to the crown, and the Queen's family, as the Beauforts, Nevilles and Courtneys had been in the earlier stages of the King's reign. Edward steadily pursued his object of raising a barrier around the throne, to emancipate it from the controul of the aristocracy, by heaping titles and honours on the Queen's family.[1] "In thus pursuing a wise object in an unwise manner," he left the latter and the old nobility, at his death, in as complete a state of hatred and envy, as had formerly existed between the adherents of the rival Roses.

Divided state of Edward's court.

As the death of the Duke of Clarence paved the way by which Richard ultimately mounted the throne,[2] it may be necessary here to consider the state of the King's Court, when that event occurred; and by dividing it into two great parties, the one headed by Gloucester and Hastings, and the other by Earl Rivers, the Queen's brother, we shall be enabled the better to

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[1] The favours heaped by Edward on his wife's relatives immediately after Clarence's death have led to the supposition that they were the parties by whom he was accused. This opinion, however, cannot be maintained, for it was the policy of the King, on all occasions, to make their aggrandizement a means of lessening the power of the more potent nobles, and in conferring Clarence's estates uponLords Rivers, and Howard, and the guardianship of his son on the Marquis of Dorset, he was merely pursuing that line of conduct which he thought most conducive to the accomplishment of his great object.

[2] One of the articles laid before parliament at the trial of Clarence was that "he had affirmed, that the King was not the son of the Duke of York, but of an adulterer admitted by the Duchess, their mother to her bed." Richard afterwards availed himself of this suspicion cast upon his own parent, when setting up his claim to the throne.

unravel the confused web, which obscures this portion of our history. A.D. 1478.

The heads of these two great parties we are told, on competent authority, had long existed in open hostility. (*Croyland Contin.* p. 565.) Indeed to such an extent had this feeling of jealousy been carried, that Edward had been prevailed upon to send his favourite, the Lord Hastings, to the Tower,[3] on the accusation of Earl Rivers, where his treatment led him daily to expect his death warrant. He had first risen into public notice under Edward's father Richard, Duke of York, in 1455, who in that year appointed him ranger of Ware, in Salop. The King's favourite was courted by all the nobility, who sought to ingratiate themselves on Edward's accession in 1461. Amongst these Dugdale particularly enumerates the Duchess of Buckingham, and her eldest son; the Lord Lovell, the Lord Rivers, the Duchess of Bedford, and others. The King himself employed him on various Embassies and threw other lucrative posts in his way. He possessed the extraordinary virtue, in a courtier, of gratitude, and to his personal bravery Edward was indebted for his escape from Middleham. He shared his exile with his Royal Master, and at the Battle of Barnet commanded the rear guard consisting of 3,000 horsemen. Married to Katherine, daughter of the Earl of Salisbury, he became identified with the old Nobility, and the Offices of Lord Chamberlain, and Governor of Calais gave him great power. When the King entered upon the French Expedition, the Lord Hastings was accompanied by two lords, nine Knights, fifty eight esquires, and twenty gentlemen, a sufficient evidence of his popularity. We have seen that he alone, on receiving the bribes of Louis the Eleventh, refused to give an acknowledgement, and Commines who had prevailed upon him to accept a

Differences between Lord Hastings, and Earl Rivers.

(*Dugdale's Baronage*, p. 580.)

(*Ibid.* p. 583.)

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[3] In allusion to this Gloucester says: (*Richard III. Act I. Scene* 1.) | "But who comes here? the *new-delivered* Hastings?"

A.D. 1478. pension from the Duke of Burgundy of 1000 crowns a year says "it was with great difficulty and solicitation, that he was made one of the French King's pensioners; but Peter Cleret, being privately admitted into his house in London, presented him 2000 crowns in gold;[4] for to Foreign Lords of great quality, the King never gave any thing else." The same author has left on record that "he was a man of singular wisdom and virtue."

(*Commines*, p. 283.)

LORD STANLEY. Lord Stanley,[5] the brother-in-law of the great Earl of Warwick, was a staunch Yorkist, and notwithstanding the importunities of his wife's brothers, remained faithful to Edward during his troubles. On the King's restoration he was appointed to several posts of honour. His conduct was always honourable, and he was held in great esteem, which gave him a degree of influence with all parties, beyond that enjoyed by any of his compeers.

(*Polydore Virgil.*)

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. To this party belonged also, the aspiring Duke of Buckingham,[6] then about twenty four years of age, who had been appointed Lord High Steward on the trial of Clarence, and whose attachment to the house of York only lasted whilst it tended to his interest; John, Lord Lovell, afterwards created Viscount Lovell; and the Lord Howard,[7] who sealed his loyalty to the White Rose with his death at Bosworth Field. The events of the subsequent reign fully prove that these nobles acted in unison to obtain the destruction of the Woodvilles, and that they looked upon the Duke of Gloucester as the natural head of their party.

LORDS LOVELL AND HOWARD.

THE EARL OF RIVERS, The Earl of Rivers, whose character has been already

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[4] See p. 170, note [20].

[5] Lord Stanley has been already referred to as favouring the negociations of Louis for a peace, during Edward's invasion of France. On the death of his first wife, the sister of the Earl of Warwick, he married the widowed Duchess of Richmond, whose son was still in a state of honourable confinement in Bretagne. We shall see in the sequel that by his means this Henry of Richmond ultimately obtained the crown, and took the title of Henry the VII.

[6] See Turner's Middle Ages, vol. iii. pp. 497—499.

[7] See page 22, note [27]. He is the same Lord Howard, mentioned by Commines, as favouring the secret negociations of Louis, in 1475.

sketched enjoyed the greatest influence in the Royal Councils. His nephew the Marquis of Dorset,[8] the Queen's son by her former marriage, a youth of the most aspiring ambition; and the brother-in-law of the Queen, the Lord Lyle,[9] together with Lord Richard Grey and several other members of the Woodville family, supported on all occasions the views of Elizabeth, who, with the most consummate skill, avoided all public interference in state affairs, carrying out her plans through the instrumentality of her blood relations. A.D. 1478. the Marquis of Dorset, the Lords Lyle and Grey.

The Archbishops Bouchier[10] and Rotheram,[11] and the Bishops Morton, Stillington,[12] Alcock,[13] and Russell,[14] though not on all occasions to be relied upon by the court party, seldom interfered with the policy of the Earl of Rivers, whose love of literature led him frequently to enter into pursuits which called upon him to THE BISHOPS.

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[8] He was created Marquis of Dorset 18 April, 1475, long before he reached his majority. He was Governor of the Tower at the time of Edward's death in 1483.

[9] See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p.719. Edward Grey was summoned as Lord Lisle of Kingston Lisle, in Berkshire, in right of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle.

[10] Son of the Earl of Eu and Essex. He was Bishop of Worcester in 1433, translated to Ely in 1444, and to Canterbury in 1454. He was elected a Cardinal, and made Chancellor in 1465. He crowned three Kings, Edward IV. Richard III. and Henry VII.

[11] Thomas Scott, surnamed Rotheram, was Bishop of Rochester in 1467, translated to Lincoln in 1471, and to York in 1480. He was Lord Keeper and afterwards in 1475 Lord Chancellor.

[12] Robert Stillington was made Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1465, and 1468 Lord Chancellor. As will be seen in the sequel it was this prelate, who foreswore himself to assist the Duke of Gloucester in his plans to secure to himself the throne of his nephew.

[13] Bishop Alcock, preceptor to the young Prince of Wales, Master of the Rolls, was made Bishop of Rochester, in 1472, translated to Worcester in 1476, and to Ely in 1486. He was Lord Keeper in 1475, and Lord Chancellor in 1486.

[14] He was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1480, and Lord Chancellor in 1484. His name is connected with the introduction of the Art of Printing into this country. He was sent as Ambassador extraordinary, to compliment the Duke of Burgundy on his receiving the order of the Garter. His "*Propositio*" on this occasion was printed by Caxton in 1470, a tract of only five leaves. A single copy of this performance only is known, which is now in the collection of Earl Spencer. It was sold by Mr. Evans, of Pall Mall, in the White Knights sale for 120 guineas, having been purchased by the late Duke of Marlborough for fifty guineas of a bookseller who gave as many shillings for it.

A.D. 1478. consult their tastes, in doing which he possessed the happy art of appearing to defer to their judgment, as more matured than his own, and by which he conciliated the friendship of this influential party.

The King seeks foreign alliances for his children.

From this divided state of Edward's court arose all the miseries of the succeeding reigns. The King was himself well aware of these differences, and sought to heal them by a public reconciliation of the parties in his presence; and to render the throne more secure by alliance with foreign courts, he negociated marriages for his children almost the moment they were born. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was contracted to the Dauphin of France, during the negociations in 1475; Cecily to James, Prince of Scotland and heir to the throne; Anne, to Philip the infant son of Maximilian, Archduke of Austria; Mary to the King of Denmark; and Catherine to the Infante of Spain. In all these projects his ambition was disappointed, and in the two most important he was completely overreached. His eldest son Edward, Prince of Wales was affianced to the daughter of the Duke of Bretagne, and Richard, the Young Duke of York, was married in early childhood to Anne, daughter and heiress of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk,[15] in order that he might become possessed of the titles and estates of the Duke of Norfolk, and accordingly in 1476 he was created Earl of Nottingham, and in 1477, Earl of Warren and Surrey.

His disappointments.

The King, when his daughter Cecily was affianced to

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[15] "An act (*Anno* 17 *Edwardi IV.*) showing how the King, had created Richard his second son, Duke of York and Norfolk, Earl Marshal, and (Earl of) Warren (and *Surrey*) and Nottingham, and had appointed his said son to marry with Anne, the daughter and heir of John, late Duke of Norfolk, the said Anne being then of the age of six years. Wherefore it is enacted, that if the said Anne should happen to die before issue had by the said Duke of York; that then the said Duke should enjoy during his life, sundry baronies, honours, castles, manors, knight's fees, and other hereditaments by name in Wales, Sussex and other countries, parcel of the inheritance of the said Anne, etc. etc."—(*Prynne's Tower Records*, p. 702.)

the Crown-prince of Scotland had agreed to pay her dowry by instalments. These were regularly paid for some years, but in 1478 they were suspended and in 1480 war was declared between Scotland and England. Edward had thus furnished his enemy with the means of carrying on the war, which had been promoted by Louis, who secretly stimulated James to break his alliance with Edward. The dissensions of the Scottish King and his nobles have been fully detailed by the Historians of Scotland,[16] and the part taken by his brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar led to the execution of the latter, who was publicly bled to death by the opening of a vein at the Cannongate. The Duke of Albany solicited the protection of Edward, and on the plea of the illegitimacy of James,[17] he was proclaimed King of Scotland. Edward stipulated that he should hold the crown as the vassal of England, and marry one of his daughters. The Duke of Gloucester was despatched with an army of 22500 men, who proceeded to Berwick on Tweed, accompanied by the Duke of Albany. The town threw open its gates, but the castle made an obstinate resistance. The Scottish King hastened to its assistance, when a sudden rebellion broke out amongst his followers, who seized the Royal favourites, hanged them at the bridge of Lauder,[18] and conveyed the King prisoner to Edinburgh.

A.D. 1480. WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

Death of the Earl of Mar.

The Duke of Albany solicits the protection of Edward.

June 10, 1482.

Dukes of Albany and Gloucester at Berwick.

The Scottish revolt.

Upon this unexpected news reaching Berwick, the

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[16] See Abercrombie, vol. ii. p. 446, and Buchanan, p. 234.

[17] His mother, Mary of Gueldres, seems to have been far from an immaculate person.—(*Wyrcester*, p. 492.)

[18] "It was generally during a military expedition that the Scottish barons made a successful stand against the authority of the Sovereign. They were then assembled in a body; they were surrounded with their clans and retainers; and if they were united among themselves, they always proved more than a match for the power of the crown. They had met to consult in the Church of Lauder, when Cochran, the Architect, whom the infatuated James had lately created Earl of Mar, incautiously joined the assembly. He was instantly seized: six more of the royal favourites were dragged from the King's tent: and all were hanged over the bridge."—(*Lingard.*)

A.D. 1483. Reconciliation of James and Albany.

Dukes of Gloucester and Albany hastened to Edinburgh, and were received with open arms. But to the astonishment of every one, Albany signed an agreement, by which he obtained his pardon, and the restitution of his estates, and seizing upon the Castle of Edinburgh, liberated his brother. To satisfy Edward it was stipulated that the provost and merchants of the city, should repay all monies advanced on account of the marriage portion of Cecily, which was faithfully done, and that he should have possession of the Castle of Berwick. "The King was not pleased with the result of the expedition, upon which he had expended upwards of £100,000; for though the possession of Berwick was an advantage, the expense of maintaining it amounted to 10,000 marks yearly." The Duke of Albany shortly afterwards renewed his traitorous designs, and was compelled to seek refuge in France, and was ultimately attainted by the Parliament of Scotland.

Berwick ceded to Edward.—(*Croyland Contin.* p. 563.)

Louis's treachery respecting the marriage-treaty.

But the severest blow to the policy of the King was still in reserve for him. According to the stipulations with Louis the Princess Elizabeth was to be conveyed to France at the age of 12 years, previous to her marriage with the Dauphin, and to have the sum of 60,000 francs per annum, settled upon her. The Princess was now in her sixteenth year, and though repeatedly expostulated with, Louis always found some excuse to put off the marriage. As the tribute of 50,000 crowns was regularly paid, Edward refused to suspect the sincerity of the French King, when both he and the Queen were suddenly made aware of the perfidy of Louis by an event as unexpected, as, apparently, improbable. The Archduke Maximilian, afterwards Emperor of Germany, had two children by his deceased Duchess, the niece of Edward, and daughter of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, whom she succeeded. Upon her death Louis sought all means to bring about a marriage between the Dauphin and her daughter, the infant Margaret. Maxi-

(*Commines*, p. 484, 485.)

milian hesitated, but the citizens of Ghent, to whom the care of the children had been confided, at length obtained his consent, and the Princess was delivered over to the Duke and Duchess of Bourbon, who conveyed her to Amboise, where she was affianced to the Dauphin.[19] A.D. 1483.

The Dauphin affianced to Margaret of Burgundy.

"Notwithstanding the joy this marriage diffused on all sides, it was a bitter disappointment to the King of England, for he thought himself deluded and baffled and in danger of losing his pension, or "the tribute" as the English called it. He feared likewise it would render him contemptible, and despised at home, and perhaps occasion some outbreak, because he had rejected the Remonstrances of his Parliament. Besides he saw the King of France incroaching upon, and ready to invade his Dominions, with a very great force; all which made such a deep impression upon his spirits, that he fell sick upon it immediately, and died not long after; tho' some say of a catarrh. But let them say what they please, the general opinion was, the Consummation of this marriage killed him in the month of April 1483. It is a great fault in a Prince to be obstinate, and rely more upon his own judgment, than upon the opinion of his Council; which oftentimes occasions such losses and disappointments, as are never to be repaired. Our King was presently informed of King Edward's Death; but he still kept it secret and expressed no manner of joy upon hearing the news of it. Not long after he received Letters from the Duke of Gloucester, who was made King, stiled himself Richard III,[20] and had barbarously murdered his two nephews. This King Richard desired to live in the same friendship with our King, as his Brother had done, and I believe thought to have had his pension continued; but our King looked upon him

(*Commines*, p. 485.)

Edward's death, and summary of consequent events.

[19] The provinces of Artois, and Burgundy, and the countries of Mascannois, Charolois and Auxerrois, were assigned to Louis as her marriage portion."—(*Commines.*)

[20] See the Appendix for the Proclamations connected with this event.

A.D. 1483. as an inhuman and cruel person, and would neither answer his Letters, nor give audience to his Ambassador; for King Richard, after his Brother's death, had sworn allegiance to his Nephew, as his King and Sovereign, and yet committed that inhuman action not long after, and in full Parliament caused two of his Brother's daughters, who were remaining, to be degraded and declared illegitimate, upon a pretence, which he justified by the Bishop of Bath, who having been formerly in great favour with King Edward, had incurred his displeasure, was cashiered, imprisoned and paid a good sum for his releasement. This Bishop affirmed, that King Edward being in love with a certain lady, whom he named, and otherwise unable to have his desires of her, had promised her marriage; and had caused him to contract them, upon which he enjoyed her, though his promise was only to delude her; but such delusions are dangerous as the effects frequently demonstrate. This malicious Prelate smothered this revenge in his heart near twenty years together, but it recoiled upon himself; for he had a son, whom he was extremely fond of, and to whom King Richard designed to give a plentiful estate, and to have married him to one of the young ladies, whom he had declared illegitimate, who is now Queen of England and has two fine children. This young Gentleman being at sea, by Commission from King Richard, was taken upon the coast of Normandy and upon a dispute between those, who took him, he was brought before the Parliament of Paris, put into the Petit Chastellet, and suffered to lie there till he was starved to death. This King Richard himself reigned not long, for God on a sudden raised him up an enemy without power, without money, without right (according to my information) and without any reputation, but what his person and deportment contracted; for he had suffered much, had been in distress all the days of his life, and particularly as prisoner in Bretagne to Duke Francis,

from the eighteenth year of his age, who treated him as kindly as the necessity of his imprisonment would permit. The King of France having supplied him with some money and about 3000 Normans, the loosest and most profligate Persons in all that country, he passed into Wales, where his Father-in-law, the Lord Stanley joined him with 26,000 men, at the least; and in three or four days' time, he met the bloody King Richard, fought him, slew him in the field of battle, crowned himself King of England, and reigns at this present time." A.D. 1483.

But to return to King Edward. "One of the personal results of his voluptuous life attacked him at Exeter, and on the 9th of April, 1483, he suddenly expired, before he had completed his 41st year, in the 23rd year of his reign," and was buried with great pomp at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, "having been exposed immediately after his death upon a board, naked from the waist upwards, during ten hours, that he might be seen by all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and by the Mayor and Aldermen of London." (*Hist. Croyl. Cont.* p. 564.)

The King dies, Ap. 9th, 1483, in the 41st year of his age.

(*Sandford's Genealogical History.*)

In Edward were combined qualities of the most discordant nature. The greatest personal bravery and invincible courage brought him off victorious in every battle in which he commanded; but no sooner was the victory achieved, than throwing aside his coat of mail, he courted the smiles of the fair, attired in the gaudy silk trappings furnished by his Italian Tailor.[21] Shouts of victory still resounded on all sides; crowds sought to pay homage to the conqueror; regal pomp and grandeur

His Character.

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[21] "His tailor had a shilling a day, and five pounds a year for his house. His name implies him to have been a foreigner—'Guillini Pault.'"—(*Turner*, and *Parl. Rolls*, vi. p. 89.) His love of the chase is often mentioned by contemporary historians, and is recorded in the first verse of the ballad of "The Tanner of Tamworth:"

"In summer time, when leaves grow green,
And blossoms bedeck the tree,
King Edward would a hunting ride,
Some pastime for to see."

This ballad is an agreeable illustration of the affable manners of the King, and is printed in Percy's Reliques, vol. ii. p. 83.

A.D. 1483. His Character.

awaited his return; but tearing himself from all these, the King hastened to join the hunt "in the merry greenwood;" to luxuriate in the enjoyments of the table; or, in the obscurity of the house of the wealthy goldsmith, and the endearments of its beautiful mistress, to forget the cares and anxieties of his Kingly office. His indolence and love of pleasure, the moment he found himself seated again firmly on the throne, after the death of Warwick, led eventually to those disastrous events, which placed the crown on the head of his brother, and set aside his own offspring as illegitimate. The Duke of Gloucester[22] had been too long in the enjoyment of almost regal power, to resign it quietly into the hands of the young child thus suddenly raised to the throne; and acting with the most cautious dissimulation, he succeeded in the object of his ambition, with the apparent approbation of the country. The minorities of Richard the Second, and Henry the Sixth, had led to the disastrous Civil Wars, which had deluged the country with blood for nearly one hundred years. This experience was not thrown away upon the nation, now recovered from it's severe losses, and willing to avoid similar evils, which would surely result from a contest between the Uncles of the young King, for the guardianship of his person, it suffered the Earl of Rivers[23] to be the first sacrifice to the ambition of Gloucester, without a murmur, and looked on with a kind of apathy whilst he removed every obstacle which impeded his way to the throne. The lights and shadows of the character of Edward stand out in bold relief. He was brave and cou-

[22] "Even in his youth, while he was fighting for the throne, he was always the last to join his adherents: and in manhood, when he was firmly seated on it, he entirely abandoned the charge of military affairs to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester."—(*Lingard.*)

[23] He was executed without even the mockery of a trial at Pontefract on the 13th of June, 1483, on the same day that the Lord Hastings was beheaded at the Tower by order of the Duke of Gloucester.—(*Croyl. Cont.* p. 567.)

rageous in the field,—luxurious and foppish in his court;[24] he was courteous and affable in demeanour,—vindictive and cruel in his heart;[25] liberal and ostentatious in his household,[26]—exacting and mean in his commercial transactions;[27] affectionate and kind to the Queen and his children,—licentious and low in the gratification of his pleasures;[28] placing his confidence without sufficient investigation,—fearful and suspicious upon slight authority.[29] Born to be a great King, he was content to be a common one. With power and abilities to have controuled the destinies of Europe, his indolence and love of pleasure made him the dupe of the King of France.[30]

A.D. 1483. HIS CHARACTER.

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[24] "He gave so much attention to dress, as to procure an act, making it a mark of every one's quality, and keeping down the inferior degrees from intruding on the splendour of the upper classes. Thus it was, in his last year, enacted, that none but the royal family should wear cloth of gold, or silk of a purple colour. None, under a Duke, any cloth of gold or tissue: none under a Lord, any plain cloth of gold: none under a Knight, any velvet, nor damask, nor satin, in their gowns; none, under an esquire or gentleman, any damask or satin in their doublets, nor gowns of camlet; none, under a lord, any woollen cloth made out of England, nor furs of sables. No labourer, servant, or artificer, were to have any cloth above two shillings a yard; but this Act was not to extend to any woman, but the wives of the latter."—(*Statutes*, vol. ii. p. 469.)

[25] He never pardoned those nobles who fell into his hands, after the battle was over, but ordered their immediate execution; and in some cases, as at Tewkesbury, he foreswore himself, and violated sanctuary to gratify his revenge.

[26] "To John Clyff, mareschal of the office of minstrels, he gave an annuity of ten marks, and the like sum to six other minstrels."—(*Turner.*) See the luxurious description of Windsor, p. 147—151 of the present volume.

[27] He ordered the customs to be exacted with the utmost severity, and imported prohibited goods in his own private vessels.

[28] Commines says, "he indulged himself in a larger share of ease and pleasure than any prince of his time, and that after the death of Warwick he indulged himself in them more violently than before."

[29] This is particularly proved by his treatment of Warwick and Montague, Clarence and Gloucester; and his imprisonment of Hastings on the accusation of Rivers. "After the death of Clarence he distributed in all parts of the realm in the custodies of the castles, manors, forests and parks, trustworthy persons, that nothing might be done, even by the greatest, without his immediate knowledge."—(*Croyl. Contin.* p. 562.)

[30] Commines says, his ambassadors were always bribed, "and left the court so well satisfied, that no exceptions could be taken, though the answers of Louis, who was a politic King, were always uncertain, in order to gain time."

A.D. 1483. His Character.

Guilty of the most heinous crimes, he was strict in the outward observance of ceremonial religion.[31] Unscrupulous in the means employed to gain his end, yet grateful and generous to those who befriended him in trouble.[32] Commines, who knew him well has left the following sketch of him, which is subjoined for the gratification of the reader.

"Edward the Fourth, King of England, was a great and powerful Prince. In his minority he saw his father, the Duke of York, defeated and slain in battle, and with him the Father of the Earl of Warwick, who governed the King in his youth, and managed all his affairs, and, to say the truth, it was the Earl of Warwick, who made Edward King, and dethroned his old master, King Henry the Sixth, who had reigned many years in that kingdom, and (in my judgment and the judgment of the world) was their lawful King. But in such cases the disposition of kingdoms, and great states, is in the hands of God, who orders them as He pleases; for indeed all things proceed from Him. The reason of the Earl of Warwick's espousing the interest of the House of York against King Henry, who was of the Lancastrian Family, was upon a difference, that happened at Court betwixt the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Warwick. The King not having wisdom enough to compose it, it grew to that height, that the Queen (who was of the House of Anjou, and Daughter to Réné, King of Sicily,) interposed in it, and inclined to the Duke's party against the Earl of Warwick; for every body had acknowledged

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[31] See his observances of Ceremonial Religion at Daventry, (pp. 54, 55). In 1471 we find "the King and Queen are gone to Canterbury on pilgrimage,"—(*Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 83): and in 1472 "the King, Queen, and Gloucester are gone to Sheen to pardon."—(*Ibid.* 91.)

[32] His infamous breach of faith to Lord Welles, and, after the battle of Tewkesbury, to the Duke of Somerset and others; and his lavish gifts to Lord Hastings, the Lord of Grauthuse and the Earl of Rivers.

Henry, his Father, and Grandfather, for their King. The Queen had acted much more prudently in endeavouring to have adjusted the dispute between them, than to have said '*I am of this party and will maintain it;*' and it proved so by the event; for it occasioned many battles in England, and a war, which continued nine and twenty years, and in the end all the partisans of both sides were destroyed. So that Factions and Parties are still very fatal, especially to the Nobility, who are too prone to propagate, and foment them. If it be alledged, that by this means both Parties are kept in awe, and the secret minds of the subject are discovered to the Prince, I agree that a young Prince may do it among his ladies, and it may be pleasant and diverting enough, and give him opportunity of finding out some of their intrigues; but nothing is so dangerous to a Nation, as to nourish such Factions and Partialities, among Men of courage and magnanimity; it is no less than setting one's own house on fire; for immediately one or the other cries out: '*The King is against us,*' seize upon some fortified town, and correspond with his Enemies. This King Edward was a very young Prince, and one of the most beautiful men of his age. As soon as he had overcome all his difficulties, he began to give himself up wholly to pleasures, and took no delight in any thing but Ladies, Dancing, Entertainments, and such like effeminate Diversions; and in this voluptuous course of life, if I mistake not, he spent about sixteen years, till the quarrel happened between him and the Earl of Warwick, in which contest, though the King was driven out of the Kingdom, yet his misfortune lasted not long; for he quickly returned, fought his adversary, defeated and killed him, and re-assuming the Government, fell again to his pleasures, and indulged himself in them after a more violent manner than before. From this time he feared nobody; but living a luxurious life, he grew very

A.D. 1483. His Character.

A.D. 1483. He died April 9th, 1483, having just entered upon the 23rd year of his reign.

fat,[33] and his excess inclining him to diseases, in the very flower of his age he died suddenly, (as it was reported,) of an apoplexy, and his Family lost the Kingdom, (as you have heard,) as to the succession in the male line."

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[33] "In homine tam corpulento, tantis sodalitiis vanitatibus, crapulis, luxui, et cupiditatibus dedito."—(*Croyl. Contin.* p. 564.) The anonymous author of the Croyland Chronicle, from whom we have borrowed so largely, tells us himself, that he was a doctor of Canon Law, a member of the Council of King Edward the Fourth, and occasionally employed by him on foreign missions. —(p. 557.) He compiled his annals "*without any intermixture of hatred, favour, or falsehood.*"—(p. 575.)

APPENDIX.

ROLL OF INVITATION FROM PARLIAMENT,

AND

PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY

KING RICHARD THE THIRD,

SETTING FORTH HIS RIGHT TO THE CROWN,

A.D. 1483.

APPENDIX.

The short reign of Edward the Fifth was comprised in the space of two months and ten days. The two documents printed here by way of Appendix, show that Richard's usurpation was countenanced by Parliament, and that the public having suffered too much in the Reigns of Richard the Second, and Henry the Sixth, by long minorities, preferred the warlike Richard to the infant Edward.

Edward Vth. A.D. 1483.

Anno Primo Ricardi Tertii.

In Rotulo Parliamenti tenti apud Westm. die Veneris vicesimo tertio die Januarii, Anno Regni Regis, Ricardi Tertii, primo, inter alia continentur, ut sequitur.

Memorand.—*quod quædam Billa exhibita fuit coram Domino Rege in Parliamento prædicto in hæc verba.*

Richard III. A.D. 1483. (*Prynne's Tower Records*, p. 714—719.)

Whereas late heretofore, that is to say, before the consecration, coronation, and inthronization of our Sovereign Lord, King Richard the Third, a Roll of Parchment, containing in writing certain articles of the tenor under-written, on the behalf, and in the name of the Three Estates of this Realm of England, that is to say, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons by name, and divers Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons by name, and other Nobles and Notable Persons of the Commons in great multitude, was presented and actually delivered unto our said Sovereign Lord, the intent and effect expressed at large in the same roll, to the which roll, and to the considerations, and instant petition comprised in the same, our said

Roll of Parliament.

Presented to Richard Duke of Gloucester.

A.D. 1483. Sovereign Lord for the public weal, and tranquillity of this land, benignly assembled.

Now for as much as neither the said three Estates, neither the said persons, which in their name presented, and delivered as it is aforesaid the said roll unto our said Sovereign Lord the King, were assembled in form of Parliament; by reason whereof divers doubts, questions, and ambiguities (*have*) been moved and ingendered in the minds of divers persons as it is said.

Therefore to the perpetual memory of the truth and declaration of the same, be it ordained, provided, and established in this present Parliament that the tenor of the said roll with all the contents of the same presented as is abovesaid and delivered to our abovesaid Sovereign Lord the King, in the name, and in behalf of the said three Estates out of Parliament: Now by the said three Estates assembled in this present Parliament and by authority of the same, be ratified, enrolled, recorded, approved, and authorized to the removing of the recasions of doubts, and ambiguities, and to all other lawful effects that shall now thereof ensue, so that all things said, affirmed, specified, desired and remembred in the said roll, and in the tenour of the same, underwritten in the name of the said three Estates to the effect expressed in the said roll, be of the like effect, virtue and force, as if all the same things had been so said, affirmed, specified and remembred in full Parliament, and by authority of the same accepted and approved, the Tenor of the said roll of parchment whereof above is made mention followeth and is such:

Its informality.

The first Parliament of Richard III. ratifies the roll.

To the High and Mighty Prince, Richard Duke of Gloucester.

The Roll. *Pleaseth it your Noble Grace to understand the Considerations, Election, and Petition under written of us, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of this Realm of England, and thereunto agreeable to give your*

assent to the Common and Public Weal of this land, and to the comfort and gladness of all the people of the same. A.D. 1483.

First, we consider, how that heretofore in time passed this land for many years stood in great prosperity, honour and tranquility: which was caused for so much as the Kings reigning used and followed the advice and counsel of certain Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and other persons of approved sageness, prudence, policy and experience, dreading God, and having tender zeal and affection to indifferent administration of justice, and to the common and public weal of the land: Then our Lord God was dread, loved, and honoured; then within the land was peace and tranquility, and among the neighbours concord and charity; then the malice of outward enemies was mightily resisted, and repressed, and the land honourably defended with many great and glorious victories; then the intercourse of Merchants was largely used and exercised: by which things above remembered, the land was greatly enriched, so that as well the Merchants as the Artificers, and other poor people, labouring for their living in divers occupations, had competent gain, to the satisfaction of them and their households, living without miserable and intollerable poverty. But afterwards, when as such had the rule and governance of this land, delighting in adulation, and flattery, and led by sensuality and concupiscence, followed the counsel of persons insolent, vicious, and of inordinate avarice, despising the counsel of persons good virtuous and prudent, such as above be remembered; the prosperity of this land decreased daily, so that our felicity was turned into misery, and our prosperity into adversity, and the order of policy, and the Laws of God and man confounded, whereby it is likely (*for*) this Realm to fall into great misery and desolation, (which God defend) without due provision of convenable remedy be had in this behalf in all godly haste.

The former Kings were upright and wise.

The country was prosperous, trade flourished, and the poor employed.

But in the reign of the late King, who was given up to sensuality,

everything was reversed.

Over this, among other things more special, we con-

A.D. 1483. Edward's marriage disputed.

sider how that the time of the reign of Edward the Fourth late deceased, after the ungracious pretended marriage (as all England hath cause to say) made betwixt the said King Edward and Elizabeth, sometime Wife to Sir John Grey Knight, late naming her self and many years heretofore, Queen of England, the order of politique rule was perverted, (the laws of God, and of God's Church, etc. also the laws of nature and of England, and also the laudable customs and liberties of the same, wherein every Englishman is inheritor,) is broken, subverted, and contemned, against all reason and justice, so that the land was ruled by self-will, and pleasure, fear and dread, all manner of equity and law laid apart and despised, whereof ensued many inconveniences and mischiefs, as murders, extortions and oppressions, namely of poor, and impotent people: so that no man was sure of his life, land, or livelihood, nor of his wife, daughter, or servant, every good maiden, and woman, standing in fear to be ravished and deflowered. And besides this, what discords, inward battles, effusion of Christian men's blood, and namely, by the destruction of the nobles' blood of their land, was had and committed within the same it is evident, and notorious through all this realm, unto the great sorrow, and heaviness of all true English-men. And here also we consider, how that the said pretended marriage betwixt the above-named King Edward, and Elizabeth Grey, was made of great presumption, without the knowing and assent of the Lords of this land, and also by Sorcery and Witchcraft committed by the said Elizabeth, and her mother Jacquetta, Duchess of Bedford, as the common opinion of the people, and the public voice and fame is throughout all this land, and hereafter if the cause shall require, shall be proved sufficiently in time and place convenient. And here also we consider, how that the said pretended marriage was made privily, and secretly without edition (*publishing*) of banns, in a private chamber, a profane

Insecurity of life and property.

Civil discords.

Elizabeth and her mother brought about the marriage by witchcraft.

The marriage not legally solemnized.

place, and not openly in the face of the Church, after the law of God's Church, but contrary thereunto, and the laudable custom of the Church of England; and how also at the time of the contract of the same pretended marriage, and before and long time after, the said King Edward was and stood married, and trothplight to one Dame Elinor Butler, daughter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom the said King Edward had made a pre-contract of matrimony, long time before he made the said pretended marriage with the said Elizabeth Grey, in manner and form aforesaid. Which premises *being true*, *as in very truth they be true*, it appeareth, and followeth evidently, that the said King Edward during his life, and the said Elizabeth, lived together sinfully and damnably in adultery, against the law of God, and of his Church; and therefore, no marvel that the sovereign lord and head of the land being of such ungodly disposition, and provoking the ire and indignation of our Lord God, such heinous mischief and inconveniences as are above remembered were used, and committed in the realm amongst the subjects. Also it appeareth evidently, and followeth, that all the issue, and children of the said King Edward be bastards and unable to inherit, or claim any thing by inheritance by the law and custom of England.

A.D. 1483.

Edward previously married to Elinor Butler.

The King and Elizabeth lived sinfully in adultery.

The children therefore all bastards cannot inherit.

Moreover, we consider how that afterwards by the three estates of this realm assembled in Parliament, holden at Westminster, Anno XVII. of the reign of the said King Edward the Fourth, he then being in possession of the Crown, and royal estate, by act made in the same Parliament, George Duke of Clarence, brother to the King Edward now deceased, was convicted, and attainted of High Treason, as in the said act is contained more at large; because and by reason whereof, all the issue of the said George was, and is disabled, and barred of all right and claim, that in any case they might have, or challenge by inheritance, to the Crown and Dignity

The Duke of Clarence having been convicted of treason, his issue disabled from inheriting the crown.

A.D. 1483. royal of this realm, by the ancient laws and customs of this same realm.

Richard therefore the rightful heir. Over this, we consider, that you be the undoubted heir of Richard Duke of York, very inheritor of the said Crown, and dignity royal, and as in right King of England by way of inheritance; and that at this time the premises duly considered, there is none other person living but you only, that may claim the said Crown and dignity royal, by way of inheritance and how that you be born within this Land; by reason whereof, as we deem in our minds, you be more naturally inclined to the prosperity and common-weal of the same, And all the three estates of the land have and may have more certain knowledge of your birth and filiation aforesaid.

His kingly qualifications. We consider also the great wit, prudence, justice, princely courage, and the memorable and laudable acts in divers battles, which as we by experience know you heretofore have done, for the defence, and salvation of this realm, and also the great nobleness and excellency of your birth, and blood, as of him that is descended of the three most royal houses of Christendom, that is to say England, France, and Spain. Wherefore these premises duly by us considered, we desiring effectually the peace tranquillity, and weal public of this land and the reduction of the same to the ancient honourable estate and prosperity. And having in your great prudent justice, princely courage, and excellent virtue, singular confidence have chosen in all that in us is, and by that our

Richard is chosen King by the three estates, writing choose you, high and mighty Prince, our King and Sovereign Lord etc. to whom we know of certain, it appertaineth of inheritance so to be chosen. And hereupon we humbly desire, pray, and require your most noble Grace, that according to this election of us, the three Estates of your land, as by inheritance you will accept, and take upon you the said Crown and royal dignity with all things thereunto annexed, and appertaining, as to you of right belonging, as well by inherit-

ance as by lawful election; and in case you so do, we promise to assist and serve your Highness, as true, and faithful subjects and liege-men and to live and die with you in this matter, and in every other just quarrel; for certainly we be determined rather to adventure and commit us to the peril of our lives, and jeopardy of death, than to live in such thraldom and bondage as we have done long time heretofore, oppressed and injured by extortions, and new impositions, against the law of God, and Man, and the liberties, and old policy and laws of this land, wherein every Englishman is inherited. A.D. 1483. who promise him allegiance and service.

Our Lord God, King of all Kings, by whose infinite goodness, and eternal providence all things (*have*) been principally governed in this world, lighten your soul, and grant you grace to do as well in this matter as in all other, that which may be according to his will and pleasure, and to the common and public weal of this land. So that after great clouds, troubles, storms and tempests, the sun of justice and of grace may shine upon us, to the joy and comfort of all true-hearted Englishmen! Prayer for his safety.

Albeit that the right, title, and estate which our Sovereign Lord King Richard the Third hath, to and in the Crown and royal dignity of this realm of England, with all things thereunto within the same realm, and without it annexed and appertaining, being just and lawful, as grounded upon the laws of God and nature, and also upon the ancient laws and laudable customs of this said Realm; and also taken, and reputed by all such persons, as (*have*) been learned in the above-said laws and customs. His right to the crown just and lawful,

Yet nevertheless, for as much as it is considered, that the most part of the people is not sufficiently learned in the abovesaid laws and customs, whereby the truth and right in this behalf of likelihood may be hid, and not clearly known to all the people and thereupon put in doubt, and question. And over this, how that the court and recognised by Parliament as such,

A.D. 1483. of Parliament is of such authority, and the people of this land of such a nature and disposition as experience teacheth, that manifestation and declaration of any truth or right, made by the three Estates of this realm assembled in Parliament, and by authority of the same, maketh before all other things most faith, and certain quieting of men's minds, and removeth the occasion of doubts, and seditious language.

Therefore, at the request, and by the assent of the three Estates of this realm, that is to say, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of this land assembled in this present Parliament, and by authority of the same, be it pronounced, decreed, and declared, that our said Sovereign Lord the King was and is the very undoubted King of this realm of England, with all things thereunto within the same realm, and without it, united annexed and appertaining, as well by right of consanguinity and inheritance, as by *lawful election*, consecration and coronation.

by consanguinity, inheritance and *lawful election*.

And over this, that at the request, and by the assent and authority above said, be it ordained, enacted, and established that the said Crown, and royal dignity of this realm, and the inheritance of the same, and all other things thereunto within this realm, or without it, united and annexed, and now appertaining, rest and bide in the person of our said Sovereign Lord the King, during his life, and after his decease in his heirs of his body begotten, in especial at the request, and by assent and the authority aforesaid, be it ordained, enacted, established, pronounced, decreed and declared, that the high and excellent Prince Edward, son of our said Lord the King, be heir apparent of the same our Sovereign Lord the King, to succeed to him in the abovesaid Crown and royal dignity, with all things (as is aforesaid) thereunto united, annexed and appertaining, to have them after the decease of our said Sovereign Lord the King, to him, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten.

The succession settled upon his son, Edward, and his heirs.

Quæ quidem Billa Communibus Regni Angliæ indicto Parliamento existentibus transportata fuit, cui quidem Billæ idem Communes assensum suum præbuerunt sub his verbis: A ceste Bille les Communs sont assentes; *quibus quidem Billa et assensu coram Domino Rege in Parliamento prædicto, lectis, auditis, et plene intellectis, et de assensu Dominorum Spiritualium et Temporalium in dicto Parliamento similiter existentium, et Communitatis prædictæ; necnon authoritate ejusdem Parliamenti pronunciatum, decretum, et declaratum existit, omnia, et singula in Billa prædicta contenta fore vera et indubia, ac idem Dominus Rex, de assensu dictorum trium Statuum Regni, et authoritate prædicta, omnia et singula præmissa in billa prædicta contenta concedit, et ea pro vero et indubio pronunciat, decernit, et declarat.*

PROCLAMATION.

The King's Proclamation against the Tudors.—(*Fenn's Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 319.)

Richard R.

Richard, etc. wisheth health, we command you, etc.

Forasmuch as the King, our Sovereign Lord, hath certain knowledge that Piers, Bishop of Exeter, Jasper Tydder (*Tudor*), son of Owen Tydder, calling himself Earl of Pembroke, John, late Earl of Oxford, and Sir Edward Woodville, with others diverse, his Rebels and Traitors, disabled and attainted by the authority of the High Court of Parliament, of whom many be known for open Murderers, Advowterers (*Adulterers*) and extortioners, contrary to the pleasure of God and against all truth, honour and nature, have forsaken their natural country, taking them first to be under the obeysance of the Duke of Bretagne, and to him promised certain things, which by him and his Council, were thought things too greatly unnatural and abominable for them to grant, observe, keep, and perform, and therefore the same utterly refused.

A.D. 1483. The said Traitors seeing the said Duke and his Council would not aid nor succour them nor follow their ways, privily departed out of his country into France, and to abuse and blind the Commons of this said Realm, the said Rebels and Traitors have chosen to be their Captain one Henry Tydder (*Tudor*), son of Edmund Tydder, son of Owen Tydder, which of his ambitious and insatiable covetise (*Covetousness*) encroacheth and usurpeth upon him, the name and title of Royal Estate of this realm of England; whereunto he hath no manner of interest, right, title, or colour, as every man well knoweth; for he is descended of bastard blood, both of father's side, and of mother's side; for the said Owen the Grandfather, was bastard born; and his mother was daughter unto John, Earl of Somerset, son unto Dame Katherine Swynford, and of their indouble avowtry gotten; whereby it evidently appeareth, that no title can nor may vest in him, which fully intendeth to enter this realm, proposing a conquest; and if he should atchieve his false intent and purpose, every man's life, livelihood, and goods, shall be in his hands, liberty and disposition; whereby should ensue the disheriting and destruction of all the noble and worshipful blood of this realm for ever.

Henry of Richmond claims the crown.

He is descended of bastard blood on both sides.

And to the resistance and withstanding whereof every true and natural Englishman born, must lay to his hands for his own surety and weal.

And to the intent that the said Henry Tydder might the rather atchieve his false intent and purpose by the aid, support, and assistance of the King's ancient enemy of France, (*he*) hath covenanted and bargained with him, and all the Council of France, to give up and release in perpetuity all the right, title, and claim, that the King of England have had, and ought to have, to the Crown and Realm of France, together with the Duchies of Normandy, Anjou and Mayne, Gascoigne and Guisnes, Cassell, and the towns of Calais, Guisnes, Hammes, with the Marches appertaining to the same,

His treaty with France for succour.

and exclude the Arms of France out of the Arms of England for ever. A.D. 1483.

And in more proof and shewing, of his said purpose of conquest, the said Henry Tydder hath goven (*given*), as well to divers of the said King's Ennemies, as to his said Rebels and Traitors, Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, and other Dignities spiritual; and also the Duchies, Earldoms, Baronies, and other possessions and inheritances of Knights, esquires, gentlemen, and other the King's true subjects within the realm; and intendeth also to change and subvert the Laws of the same, and to enduce (*introduce*) and establish new laws and ordinances amongst the King's said subjects. He bestows high offices of Church and State upon his followers.

And over this, and besides the alienations of all the premises into the possession of the King's said ancient enemies, to the greatest angutishment, (*dishonour*) shame, and rebuke, that ever might fall to this said land, the said Henry Tydder and others, the King's rebels and Traitors aforesaid, have extended (*intended*) at their coming, if they may be of power, to do the most cruel murders, slaughters, and robberies, and disherisons, that ever were seen in any Christian realm. His evil intentions should he land.

For the which, and other inestimable dangers to be eschewed, and to the intent that the King's said Rebels, Traitors, and ennemies, may be utterly put from their said malicious and false purpose, and soon discomforted, if they enforce (*endeavour*) to land.

The King our Sovereign Lord willeth, chargeth, and commandeth, all and every of the natural and true subjects of this his realm, to call the premises to their minds, and like good and true Englishmen to endow (*furnish*) themselves with all their powers for the defence of them, their wives, children, and goods, and hereditaments, against the said ancient enemies have made with the King's said Rebels and Traitors, for the final destruction of this land, as is aforesaid. King Richard calls upon his subjects to resist him.

And our said sovereign Lord, as a well willed, dili-

A.D. 1483. gent, and courageous Prince, will put his most royal person to all labour and pain necessary in this behalf, for the resistance and subduing of his said enemies, rebels, and traitors, to the most comfort, weal, and surety of all his true and faithful liege men and subjects.

The King will take the command in person.

And over this, our said Sovereign Lord willeth and commandeth all his said subjects, to be ready in their most defensible array, to do his Highness service of war, when they by open proclamation, or otherwise shall be commanded so to do, for resistance of King's said rebels, traitors, and enemies.

All men to be ready to do service.

Witness myself at Westminster, the 23rd day of June in the second year of our Reign.

INDEX.

Abbeville, 247.
Abingdon, 74 n. 6, 108.
Albany, Duke of, 259, 260.
Alcmar, 30, 151.
Alcock, Bishop of Rochester, 210, 257 n. 13.
Aldgate, 90, 91, 129.
Alfrey, Peter, 109 n. 21.
Allington, William, 150.
Alnwick, Siege of, 12, 103, 104 n. 4—6.
Alsford, William, 20 n. 23.
Amiens, 162, 167.
Angiers, the manner and guiding of the Earl of Warwick at, 229; the excuse and answer of the Earl of Warwick unto Queen Margaret, 230; the Earls of Warwick and Oxford pardoned of Queen Margaret and of her son Prince Edward, 231; treaty of marriage between the Prince of Wales and Anne Neville, 232 n. 10; oath of the Earl to King Henry, 233; oath of the King of France, his brother, and Queen Margaret, *ib.*; time when the marriage shall take place, *ib.* n. 11; the aid of the French King, 234 n. 12; Clarence and Warwick's letter from France, 235 n. 13; Edward's reply, 237 n. 14.
Angus, George, 11 n. 11, 13 n. 12.
Anjou ceded, xvi.
Anne, daughter of Edward IV., 152, 154, 258.
Architecture, Improvements in, 210.
Arnold, Richard, 206.
Arthur, son of Edward IV., 152.
Arundel, Sir John, lxxxv, 71.
Asheton, Sir John, 182.
Astley, Sir John, lxxxviii.
Attainders, List of, 102 n. 2, 250 n. 8.
Attcliffe, William, 150, 163.
Aubrey, Lord, 108.
Audley, Lord, lxviii, lxxiii, 28, 217, 219.
Audley, Sir Humphrey, 127.
Austria, Duke of, 165.
Avranches, xxi.

Bamborough Castle, Account of the siege of, lxxxvi, 13, 14, 103 n. 2, 104 n. 6.

Banbury, 110, 135.
Banbury, Battle of, 24, 51.
Bardolf, Lord, 46.
Barnet, 62 n. 31, 67 n. 39, 124.
Barnet, Battle of, 63, *ib.* n. 32.
Barthe, Master George, 148 n. 12.
Basset, John, 129.
Bath, 71 n. 4, 74.
Bath, Earl of, 50.
Bath, Knights of the, 17 n. 16.
Bayeux, xxi.
Baynard's Castle, lxiii.
Beauchamp, John Earl of, xxxvii.
Beauchamp, Richard, 76 n. 7, 77.
Beaufort, Cardinal, xiii, xiv n. 3, xv n. 4.
Beaufort, John, Earl of Somerset, xxxv.
Beaufort, John, 74 n. 6.
Beaulieu Abbey, 70 n. 3.
Beaumont, Lord, xiv, lix, lxxvii, 74 n. 6, 140.
Bedford, Duchess-dowager, mother to the Queen, 16, 18, 219, 255.
Bedford, George Neville, Duke of, 107, 250.
Bedingfield, Sir Edward, 247 n. 6.
Bergavenny, xxxvii.
Bergen, 161.
Berkeley, 75, 76.
Berkshire, 74.
Berners, Lord, 123, 125, 148.
Bernewell, Prior of, 180.
Berney, 183, 186 n. 15.
Berri, Duke of, 163 n. 12.
Berwick, 13, 259, 260.
Bethune, 247.
Beverley, 40, 242.
Bisham, 126 n. 57.
Bishopsgate, 9, 90.
Blackfriars, 120 n. 46, 131.
Blackheath, xxx, xxxi, xlii, 92, 130, 131.
Bleverhasset, John, 158 n. 6, 159.
Bloreheath, Battle of, lxviii.
Blount, Sir Thomas, lxxviii.
Bodrigan, Sir Henry, 139.
Boleyn, Sir Godfrey, lxiv.
Bolingbroke, Usurpation of, xiii.
Bonville, Lord, xxxvii, lviii.
Booth, Lawrence, xxxviii, lviiii.
Bosworth Field, Battle of, xiii.

Boston, Hanse Town Factory, 178.
Botoner, William, *see* Wyrcester.
Boulogne, 247.
Bourbon, Charles, Archbishop of Lyons, 28.
Bourbon, Duke of, (Bastard,) Admiral of France, sent as Ambassador to England by Louis XI., 21 n. 26; receives Clarence and Warwick at Honfleur, 26; meets the English Ambassadors, 168; besieges Boulogne, 247.
Bourchier, Cardinal, Archbishop of Canterbury, xxx, 50, 67, 123, 169, 197, 210, 257 n. 10.
Bourchier, Edward, lxxi.
Bourchier, Sir Humphrey, 66 n. 38, 125.
Bow Bell, lxi.
Brabant, Great fairs of, 178.
Bracy, Sir P. de, xxviii, lxiii, 12, 13 n. 13, 103 n. 2, 104.
Bremen, 161.
Bretagne, Duke of, 164, 168, 169 n. 18, 279.
Bridget, daughter of Edward IV., 153, 154.
Bridgewater, 24, 111.
Bristol, 75, 111.
Brooke, Sir George, 129.
Bruges, 161.
Bruton, 74.
Buckingham, Anne Duchess of, 6.
Buckingham, Duke of, 148, 250, 256 n. 6.
Buckingham, Humphrey Stafford Duke of, xiii, xxxviii, li, lii, lxi, lxiv, lxxvii.
Buckingham, Katherine Duchess of, 148 n. 11, 255.
Bungay, Friar, 64 n. 33.
Bungerley stepping stones, 108 n. 18.
Burdett, Thomas, 249.
Burgh, Richard, 42.
Burgh, Sir Thomas à, 45 n. 12, 113.
Burgundy, Bastard of, 18, 19 n. 21.
Burgundy, Philip Duke of, dies at Bruges, 20.
Burgundy, Charles Duke of, 18, 20 n. 2, 36, 162, 163 n. 12, 167, 168, 169, 229, 241; killed at the battle of Nanci, 245.
Burgundy, Duchess of, her marriage, 20, 50, 214 n. 1, 246; called the Old Lady of, by Sir John Paston, 248.
Burgundy, Mary of, only daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, 245; marries the Archduke Maximilian, 249, 252.
Burgundy, Margaret of, daughter of Mary and Maximilian, affianced to the Dauphin, 261 n. 19.
Bury, xiv n. 2, 3, 46 n. 13, 156.

Cade's Rebellion, xxx n. 15.

Caen, xxi.
Caister, Siege of, 183, 184 n. 11, 12; yielded to Duke of Norfolk, 188, 189.
Calabria, Duke of, 163 n. 12.
Calais, xxi, xxvii, lxii, 53, 86, 92, 129, 130, 137, 162, 178.
Calle, Richard, 184.
Calthorpe, Dame Elizabeth, 157 n. 4.
Cambridge, Queen's College, 128 n. 63, 211 n. 12; King's College, xv; Chapel built by Edward IV., 211.
Cambridgeshire, 46.
Canning, William, 178.
Cannon, or the King's great guns, lxxxvii.
Canterbury, 95, 129, 130.
Canterbury, Archbishop of, Cardinal, *see* Bourchier, lviii, lxiv, lxv, lxxvi, lxxvii.
Cantlow, William, 14.
Carlisle, Alexander, 29, 30.
Carpets in use, 148 n. 13.
Cary, Sir William, 127.
Cassell, 248.
Caxton, William, the first English Printer, 198; scarcity of books, 199; expense of producing MSS. of binding, 201; list of the Productions of his press, *ib.*; his own publications, 202; his birth and early life, 203; freeman of the Mercers' Company, *ib.*; sent as special deputy to conclude a treaty of commerce with Burgundy, *ib.*; Consul at Bruges in 1469, *ib.*; Margaret of Burgundy his great patroness, 204; his patrons, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, 194; and Anthony Earl of Rivers, 207; his eyesight fails, 204; his style, *ib.*; his original Works, 205; his monument, 206; his praise of the Earl of Worcester, 194; and of the Earl of Rivers, 207; his want of knowledge of the learned languages beneficial to English literature, 205; his death, *ib.*
Cecily, Daughter of Edward IV., 152, 154, 258.
Cerne Abbey, 70 n. 3, 196.
Chabanes, Marshal, xliv.
Chamberlain, Sir Robert, 37.
Charing, lxiii.
Charles of Anjou, xvi.
Charles VII. of France, xx, xxi.
Chatillon, xliii, xliv.
Cheapside, lx.
Chelmsford, 156.
Cheltenham, 79.
Cherbourg, xxi.
Chertsey, 94, 131.

Cheshire, 73, 77.
Chester, lix.
Cirencester, 74.
Clapham, 24, 29 n. 37, 114 n. 35.
Clarell, 24.
Clarence, George Duke of, lxxviii, 5, 6; created Duke, 10, 23 n. 29, 214 n. 1; his marriage, 110, 216; conspires with Warwick, 26, 110, 112, 113, 216; his treason detected, flies with his wife into Normandy, 26, 114 n. 33; welcomed by Louis, 27, 115; returns to England, 116; intrigues against Warwick, 50, 122 n. 52; reconciled to Edward IV., 51, 123 n. 53; attempts to reunite Edward IV. and Warwick, 52; battle of Tewkesbury, 79 n. 10; arbitrates between Edward IV. and Louis XI., 169; encourages lawless violence, 183; interests himself in the siege of Caister, 184 n. 12; disputes with Gloucester, and conceals Lady Anne Neville from him, 242; settlement of property by act of Parliament, 243; the Manors of Clavering, Mantion, and two houses in London belonging to the Earl of Warwick, are given him by the King, 244; his treason never forgiven, gives rise to his quarrel with Edward IV., 245; death of the Duchess, *ib.* n. 5; seeks to marry his niece, Mary of Burgundy, 246; opposed by the King, which leads to an open rupture, *ib.*; defends Staccy and Burdett when under sentence of execution, 249 n. 8; committed to the Tower by order of King Edward IV., 250; sentence of death passed upon him by the Duke of Buckingham, *ib.*; his execution, 351 n. 11, 12; interred at Tewkesbury, *ib.* n. 10; reasons for the King's injustice, 252 n. 13; his family, *ib.*; his estates confiscated, 253.
Clarence, Lionel Duke of, xxxvi.
Cleret, Peter, 256.
Clergy, The, 210.
Clermont, Count de, xx.
Clermont, Count, xxviii.
Cletherwood, 108.
Cleyer, John, lxxvii.
Clifford, Lord, li, lii, lxiii, lxxi, lxxxiii.
Clifford, Robert, 42.
Clifford, Thomas, 121, 140.
Clifton, Sir Gervase, 83, 109 n. 21, 127.
Clinton, Lord, lxxi.
Cobham, Lord, xxxvii, l, liii.
Coinage, Change of the, 17, 107.
Colchester, 156.
Cologne, 161.
Comets, 109, 115, 132.
Comines, Philip de, his character of Edward IV., 266, &c.

Commerce encouraged, 146 n. 1; treaties formed, 166.
Coniers, James, 111.
Coniers, Thomas, Recorder of York, 41, 42.
Conyers, Sir John, lxxi.
Conyers, Sir William, 110.
Cooke, Sir Thomas, Mayor of London, 18, 108 n. 21, 129.
Corn exported, 173 n. 3; Corn laws enacted, 174.
Cornwall, 70, 71.
Cotswold, 6, 76, 78 n. 9.
Cotswold sheep sent into Spain, 173.
Courtenay, Harry, 109.
Courtenay, Sir Hugh, 71, 74 n. 6, 127.
Courtenay, Walter, 128.
Courts of Law, 179.
Coutour, John, 111.
Coventry, lxii, 46, 48, 84, 85, 86, 88.
Creations of Peers, 101 n. 1.
Crevecœur, Sir Philip de, 248.
Cromer, 37.
Cromer, Sir James, xxx.
Cromwell, Lord, xxxvii, lvi; slain at Barnet, 66, 125.
Crosby, Sir John, 93 n. 19, 131, 177 n. 7.
Croydon, Spring at, 135.
Croyland, character of the anonymous writer, 268.

Dacres, Lord, 9 n. 8, 105 n. 8.
Damprierre, Castle of, 128 n. 63.
Danesmoor, 110 n. 25.
Dantzick, 161.
Danvers, Thomas, 109 n. 21.
Daventry, 54.
Dawbeney, John, 183 n. 10, 186, 189.
Dean, Forest of, 111.
Debenham, Sir Gilbert, 37.
Delalande, Thomas, 112, 114, 226.
Delvis, James, 128.
Delvis, Sir John, 127.
Devizes, Castle of, xiv.
Devonshire, 70, 71.
Devonshire, Countess of, 128.
Devonshire, Thomas Courteney Earl of, xxix, xxxvii, lviii, 9, 56 n. 24, 71, 74 n. 6, 79 n. 10, 82, 126, 127.
Dimmock, Sir Thomas, 25, 113, 114, 115.
Dinham, Lord, lxxi, lxxii, lxxiii, 132.
Doncaster, 45.
Donne, Harry and John, 111.

Dorman, Edmond, 157.
Dorset, Marquis, lii, liv, *see* Lord John of Somerset.
Dorset, Marquis, son of the Queen, appointed Guardian to Clarence's son, 253 n. 16, 257 n. 8.
Dorsetshire, 70.
Dover, xxvii, xxviii, xxix.
Dublin, lxxiii.
Dudley, Lord, liv.
Dudley, Oliver, 111.
Dumas, Lord, 18.
Dunchurch, 135.
Dunois, Count, xx, 169.
Dunstonbrough Castle, 103, 105 n. 6.
Durham, 10.

Easterlings, 151, 174.
East Beckham, 188.
Edgcote or Hedgecote, lxxxvi; near Banbury, Battle of, 24 n. 30, 218.
Edinburgh, 259, 260.
Edward I., xxxv.
Edward II., xxxv; troubles resulting from the reign of, 219.
Edward III., xxxv, xxxvi, 177; his laws, 224.
Edward IV., Pedigree, xxxvi; flight from Ludlow into Devonshire, lxx, 5; attainted as Earl of March, lxxi; seeks refuge in Guernsey, and proceeds to Calais, lxxi; personally abuses the Earl Rivers, and his son, lxxii; reasons for the enmity of the Nevilles and Woodvilles, lxxii; enters London in 1460, lxxvi; Battle of Northampton, lxxvii; murder of his godfather, the Lord Scales lxxvii; places his brothers and sister in the house of John Paston, lxxviii; after his father's death marches from Gloucester to London, lxxxiv; Battle of Mortimer's Cross, lxxxiv; enters London and is proclaimed King, lxxxv, 7, 8; born at Rouen, 5, 213 n. 1; departs into Devonshire, and from thence to Guernsey, Calais, &c., *ib.*; arrives in London, 7, and n. 5; chosen King, 8; Battle of Touton, 9; visits the North, 10, 104; crowned at Westminster, *ib.* 101; first speech from the throne, 11 n. 8; his marriage, 15, 105; changes the coin, 17, 107, 221; quarrels with Warwick, 23; Lose-cote Field, 25, 114; his escape from the Palace of the Moor, 26; meets parliament in June, 1469, 217; rebellion in the North, 29, 116, 218; warned by Carlisle and Lee, *ib.* 117; his escape from Lyme into Flanders and return to England, 30, 36, 37, 117 n. 39, 151, 229; lands at Ravenspurne, 31, 121; marches to York, 39, 121; claims only to be Duke of York, 40, 121; arrives at York, 41, 122; departs for Tadcaster, 42; issues a proclamation at Nottingham, 45 n. 12, 122 n. 51; goes to

Leicester, 47, 122; issues proclamations at Warwick, 48, 50, 53; reconciled to Clarence, 51, 122 n. 53, 217; offers terms to the Earl of Warwick, 52; marches with his army towards London, 53; reaches Daventry, 54; procession to the parish church, 54; proceeds to Northampton, 56; continues his journey and sends messages to the Queen at Westminster, 57; arrival at St. Alban's, 58; reconciled to the Archbishop of York, 59, 217; the Tower of London secured in his name, 59; rides to St. Paul's Church, 60; his meeting with the Queen, 60; lodges at Baynard's Castle, 61; meets Warwick at Barnet, 63, 124; Battle of Barnet, 63, 124; gains the victory, 65, 125; thanksgiving at St. Paul's, 67; leaves London for Windsor, 72; issues a proclamation at Abingdon, 74 n. 6; marches with his host to Sodbury, 75; secures the town of Gloucester, 76, 127; crosses Cotswold Plains to Cheltenham, 78; Battle of Tewkesbury, 79 n. 10, 127 n. 59; thanksgiving for the victory, 82; departs from Tewkesbury to Worcester, 83; takes Queen Margaret prisoner, 84; goes to Coventry, 84; his policy with regard to Falconbridge, 86 n. 16, 89 n. 18, 129; returns to London, 24 n. 20, 88, 93 n. 19, 131; pursues the rebels into Kent, 95, 131; thanksgiving at Canterbury, 95; attainders in his first parliament, 102 n. 2, 103; taken prisoner at Olney, 111 n. 29, 112 n. 30; his escape, 112; levies a property tax, 112; his treachery to Lord Willoughby, 113; goes to Southampton, 114; at York when Clarence and Warwick landed, 116 n. 37; his unpopularity, 118, 119 n. 43; his acts annulled, 119; takes prisoner Archbishop of York and King Henry, 124 n. 54, *ib.*; his perfidy after the battle of Tewkesbury, 127, 128 n. 61, 62, 130 n. 66, 136 n. 75; makes out commissions, 131; general resumption of all royal grants, 133, 142; taxes for the war with France, 134, *ib.* n. 72, 221 n. 4; arrest of Archbishop of York, 136 n. 75, 77; confiscates all his possessions, 137, 159; puts down Oxford's rebellion, 139, 140 n. 81; grants a general pardon and reverses attainders, 142; end of the civil war, 143. His domestic habits and love of his children, 146 n. 1, 3, 4; reception of Lord Grauthuse, 146 n. 5; keeps royal state at Westminster Palace, and creates Lord Grauthuse Earl of Winchester, 150; his courtesy and personal beauty, 152 n. 20; his rules for the education of the Prince of Wales, 153; his daughters' marriages, 154; benevolences first collected, 155 n. 2, 157; his progress through Norfolk, 153, 157; the low price of food, 158 n. 5; adopts other means to raise money, 159; his commercial treaties, 160 n. 8; peace concluded with the Duke of Burgundy, 162 n. 10; truce with Scotland, 162 n. 11; prepares for war with France, 162; truce concluded, 163; receives an embassy from Louis XI., 163; reasons for the war, 163; goes to Calais, 164 n. 13; declares war, 164 n. 14; disappointed by the Duke

of Burgundy's delay, 165; remains at Peronne, 165; receives a Herald from Louis XI., 166; a meeting arranged between the French King and himself by the Herald, 167; treachery of the Constable de St. Pol, 167; treaty concluded, 168 n. 17; stipulates for the ransom of Queen Margaret, 169; meets Louis at Pecquigni, 169 n. 19; returns to England, 170; termination of the wars of Edward IV., 170; his domestic policy, 171; remission of taxes, 172; trades with his own ships as a merchant, 172, 177; imports wool from Spain, 173 n. 2; trades with Italy and Greece, 173; corn exported, 173 n. 3; regulation of the prices of animal food, ale and wine, 174 n. 4; his popularity with the poor, and discouragement of machinery, 176; makes trade an honourable calling, 177; establishes British Factories abroad under Consuls or governors, 179 n. 9; establishes the Post, 179; accompanies the Judges on the circuits to repress the lawless violence of the times, 180; encourages architecture, 210; introduces hand culverines from Flanders, 1471, 211 n. 14; employs font-metal or bronze, instead of iron, in his field pieces, 211; his affectionate care of his younger brothers, 212; Royal Genealogy translated from William Wyrcester, 212, n. 1; Genealogy of Edward IV., 214 n. 1; original cause of estrangement between him and Clarence, 216; his treaties with foreign powers recapitulated, 218; expostulates with Clarence on his conduct to Lady Anne Neville, 242; carries the great seal with him in the civil wars but now entrusts them to Dr. Morton, Master of the Rolls, 243; divides the property of Warwick to the exclusion of the Countess, between her daughters Isabel and Anne, 243; cause of quarrel with Clarence, 245; jealous of his brother's power and influenced by the Queen, he opposes the marriage of Clarence with Mary of Burgundy, 246; Louis XI. overruns her territory, but Edward is too well satisfied by the payment of 50,000 crowns to risk a war with France, 247; soothed by the kind words of Louis XI., 248 n. 7; increased animosity with Clarence, 249; imprisons him in the Tower, 250; appears in person as the prosecutor of Clarence, *ib.*; repeals all the acts made during the restoration of Henry VI., *ib.*; cause of his injustice and cruelty to Clarence, 251; his grief and repentance, 252; emancipates the throne from the control of the aristocracy, 254 n. 1; division of parties at court, 255; seeks to reconcile their differences, 258; allies his children with foreign powers to strengthen his throne, *ib.*; war with Scotland, 259; the Duke of Albany solicits his protection, *ib.*; Berwick is ceded, 266; his disappointment at Louis' treachery, 260; his fears, illness, and death, 261; buried at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 263; his character, *ib.* n. 21,

22; its lights and shadows, 265 n. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, continued 266 n. 31, 32; 267, 268 n. 33; the legality of his marriage disputed, 274; his children declared illegitimate, 275.

Edward, Prince, (son of King Edward,) born in Sanctuary at Westminster, 60 n. 30, 120 n. 47; carried by Sir Richard Vaughan to Westminster Abbey, 150; rules for his conduct, 153; affianced to the daughter of the Duke of Bretagne, 258; his reign, Appendix, 271.

Edward, Prince of Wales, (son of King Henry,) lxxxiv, lxxxv; born, xlvi; created Prince of Wales, xlviii, liv, lxxix; accompanies Margaret, his mother, to Amboise, 27 n. 35; stands godfather to Louis' son, Charles VIII., 28; marries Anne, daughter of the Earl of Warwick, 28 n. 36, 115; windbound at Harfleur, 56, 126; lands at Weymouth, 69, 126; proceeds to Bristol and Exeter, 70, 127; proscribed by Edward's proclamation, 74 n. 6; Battle of Tewkesbury, 79 n. 10, 127; slain in the field, 82 n. 13, 127; interred, 83, 242.

Egremont, Thomas Percy Lord, xxxvii, lxiii, lxxvii.

Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV., 15 n. 17; her marriage with Edward IV., 16 and n. 6, 105; crowned at Westminster, 17; birth of the Princess Royal, 18; goes to Sanctuary, 120 n. 47; receives the King in Sanctuary at Westminster, 60 n. 29; returns with him to Baynard's castle, 61; remains in the Tower during the insurrection of Falconbridge, 87; entertains the Lord of Grauthuse at Windsor Castle, 147 n. 6; her courtesy, 149 n. 15; retains her influence over Edward, whom she survived nine years, 154; buried at Windsor, 155.

Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. born, 18; christened at Westminster, *ib.*; betrothed to the Duke of Bedford, 107, 250; joins in the amusements at Windsor, 147, 148; betrothed to the Dauphin, 168, 258; deceived by the perfidy of Louis IX., 260; married to Henry VII., 154, 197.

Eneand, John, 111 n. 26.

Essex, 46, 132.

Essex, Earl of, 11, 50, 90, 123, 125.

Eton College founded by Queen Margaret, xv, 210; Chapel of, built by Edward IV., 211.

Exeter, 70, 71, 126, 142, 213.

Exeter, Duke of, lxi, lxiii, 20 n. 22, 46, 53, 65 n. 37, 115, 118, 119, 124, 125.

Exeter, Anne Duchess of, 50 n. 19, 148 n. 11, 212, 213 n. 1.

Exeter, Piers Bishop of, 279.

Fabyan, Robert, 191; his literary works, 195.

Factories, British, established abroad, 179 n. 9.

Falconbridge, Lord, xxxvii, liii, lxxi, 9 n. 8; created Earl of Kent, 11.
Falconbridge, the Bastard, 86 n. 16, 87, 88, 89 n. 18, 90, 92, 95, 129, 130 n. 66, 132.
Fastolf, Sir John, xxxi, xxxii, lxiv, 184 n. 11, 188, 189.
Faunt, Nicholas, mayor of Canterbury, 130, 131 n. 69.
Ferrette, county of, 165.
Ferrybridge, Battle of, lxxv.
Fielding, Sir William, 127.
Fitzharry, Sir Thomas, 127.
Fitzhugh, Lord, 29.
Fitzwalter, John Ratcliff Lord, 9 n. 7, 26 n. 25.
Flanders, 249.
Fleet Street, lxiv.
Fleetwood, Mr. Recorder, end of Manuscript, 96.
Florentines, lx.
Florey, John, 128.
Flushing, 36.
Fogg, Sir John, 109 n. 21, 132 n. 70, 219.
Fortescue, Richard, 139, 140, 141.
Fortescue, Sir John, 129, 142, 207 n. 8.
Fotheringay, 211.
Fougeres, xvi.
Fourmigny, xx.
France, King of. *See* Lewis XI.
France lost to England, 118, 134.
Frost, Great, 105.
Fulford, Edward, 139.
Fulford, Sir Baldwin, 12.
Fynderne, Sir Thomas, 14 n. 15, 107 n. 14.

Gascoigne, Dr., Chancellor of Oxford, xv.
Gascoigne lost to England, 118, 134.
Gate, Sir Jeffrey, 29, 129.
Gaunt, John of, xxxv, xxxvi.
Ghent, 248, 264.
Glastonbury, 24, 71, 73.
Gloucester, 73, 75, 76, 77, 127.
Gloucester, Abbot of, xvii.
Gloucester, Humphrey Duke of, xiv, xxvi, lxxv, 118.
Gloucester, Richard Duke of, lxxiii, 6; created Duke of, 11, 214 n. 1; accompanies Edward IV. in his flight to Friezeland, 30, 151; returns to England, 38; reconciled to Clarence at Banbury, 51, 123 n. 53; Battle of Barnet, 64 n. 34; Battle of Tewkesbury, 79 n. 10, 80; sent by the King to receive the submission of Falconbridge at Canterbury, 95; causes him to be beheaded,

130; present at the death of Henry VI., 131 n. 67; to facilitate his communication with Edward IV. during the Scottish campaign, the *Post* was established, 179; demands Lady Anne Neville in marriage, 242 n. 2; his marriage, 243; settlement of property by act of parliament, *ib.*; provision made in case of his divorce, 244 n. 3; obtains part of Clarence's estates, 253; his increase of power, 254 n. 2; despatched with an army to Berwick-upon-Tweed, 259; joyously received with Albany at Edinburgh, 260; upon the death of Edward IV. writes to Louis XI., styling himself Richard III., 261, 262; his usurpation, (Appendix) 271; the roll ratified by parliament, 272, 273, 279; issues a proclamation against the Tudors, *ib.*; Henry of Richmond asserts his claim, 280; calls upon his new subjects to resist this claim, 283; takes the command in person and orders all men to do him service, 282.

Goddard, Dr., 249.
Gogney, William, 156.
Gough, Matthew, xxx.
Gower, James, 128.
Grafton, Manor of, 16.
Grauthuse, Lord of, 146 n. 5, 151.
Gray, Bishop of Ely, lxxvi.
Greece, 173.
Gremyby, Sir William, 127.
Gresham, James, xxxviii.
Grey Friars, lxiv.
Grey, Elizabeth. *See* Elizabeth, Queen to Edward IV.
Grey, Sir John, lxxxv, 15, 105.
Grey, Lord Richard, 257.
Grey, Lord de Ruthyn, xxxiv, lxx, lxxvii.
Grey, Sir Ralph, Governor of Bamburgh Castle, lxxxvi, 14 n. 15, 104 n. 4.
Guienne lost to England, xxi, 118, 134, 163.
Guildhall, lx, lxi, lxii.
Gunnery, Art of, 211.

Hall, The Chronicler, 6.
Hamburgh, 161.
Hammes Castle, 137, 140 n. 81, 141, 142, 160.
Hampden, Sir Edward, 127.
Hampshire, 73.
Hampton, Sir William, 93 n. 19, 131.
Hanse Towns, 160 n. 9, 161, 178.
Harcourt, Sir Richard, 159.
Harding, John, 191; his literary works, 196.
Harfleur, 56 n. 25.

Harlech Castle, siege of, 105, 216.
Harrington, Sir James, 45 n. 12, 46, 108 n. 19.
Harrington, Sir John, verses, 14 n. 16.
Harrington, Sir Thomas, lxxi.
Hastings, Lord, xvii, 1.
Hastings, Lord Sir William, lxxi; besieges Alnwick, 12, 104 n. 4; flies with Edward IV. to Friezeland, 30, 117 n. 39; returns to England, 38, 121; reconciles Edward IV. and Clarence, 50, 51; Battle of Barnet, 63 n. 32, 255; Battle of Tewkesbury, 79 n. 10; with the King at Windsor Castle, 148; marries Catherine Bonville, 253 n. 16; committed to the Tower by the King on the accusation of Earl Rivers, 255 n. 3; his honesty, bravery and gratitude, 255; beheaded at the Tower by order of Richard III., 264 n. 23.
Heberge, Bishop of Evreux, 168.
Hedynge (Hesden), Castle of, 247.
Henry III., xxxv.
Henry IV. Bolingbroke's usurpation, xiii; his pedigree, xxxv.
Henry V., lxxx, lxxxi.
Henry VI., marriage with Margaret of Anjou, xiii; declines the bequest of Cardinal Beaufort, xv; his marriage unpopular, xv; progress through Kent after Cade's rebellion, xxxi; encamps on Blackheath, xlii; pardons the Duke of York, xliii; summons a parliament, March 6th, 1452, xliii; his illness, xlvi; visited by the Peers, xlvii; his recovery, xlviii; his character, xlix; his spirited reply to the rebels at St. Alban's, li; taken prisoner by York, lii; his second illness, lvii, lviii; recovers and dismisses York, lix; his progress into Warwickshire, lxii; his endeavours to reconcile the rival parties, lxiii; public procession to St. Paul's, lxv; assembles his forces in Leicester, lxviii; offers terms to the rebels at Ludlow, lxix; addresses his followers, lxx; takes Ludlow, lxxi, 5; he is taken prisoner at Northampton, lxxvii; defends his title to the crown, lxxxi; restored to his family at the second battle of St. Alban's, lxxxv; dethroned by Edward IV., lxxxv; seeks refuge in Scotland after the battle of Touton, 9; his grant to the Earl of Angus, 12; prepares an army to re-enter England, 14; taken after the battle of Hexham, 14 n. 16, 17, 108 n. 1; attainted 102 n. 2; restored to the throne, 36, 117 n. 40, 41; holds a parliament, 119; constitutes Warwick Lord Lieutenant, 47 n. 14; is paraded through the city of London, 58 n. 27, 123; betrayed by Archbishop of York, 60 n. 28, 123 n. 56; carried prisoner to Barnet Field, 62 n. 30, 124 n. 55; imprisoned again in the Tower, from whence the Bastard Falconbridge endeavours to rescue him, 87, 126, 129; his death, 93 n. 20, 131 n. 67; his body exposed at St. Paul's, 131; buried

honourably in Chertsey abbey, 93 n. 20, 131; his body reinterred by Henry VII., at Windsor, xc; troubles caused by his reign, 220, 264.
Herbert, Lord, Earl of Pembroke, lxxxvii, 24, 105, 110, 111, 216, 219.
Herbert, Sir Richard, 111.
Herbert, Thomas, 111.
Herbert, William, 111.
Hervey, Sir Nicholas, 127.
Heveningham, 156.
Hexham, Battle of, lxxxvi, 14, 106, 115.
Hill, Thomas, 177 n. 7.
Hobby (*right fair*), 148 n. 10.
Holand, 50.
Holand, Henry. *See* Duke of Exeter.
Holderness, 121.
Hot summer and dearth, 134.
Howard, Humphrey, 108.
Howard, Lord, 164, 166, 167, 253, 256 n. 7.
Humber-head, 38, 39.
Hungerford, Robert Lord, 14 n. 15, 108.
Hungerford, Sir Thomas, 109.
Hungerford, Thomas Lord, lxxvi, lxxvii, 109.
Hunger-well, in Staffordshire, 135.
Huntingdonshire, 46.
Huntingford, Lord, 14.
Huntley, Earl of, 13 n. 12.

Imposts, 175 n. 5.
Insurrection in the North, lxxxii, lxxxv, 25, 104, 113, 218.
Ipswich, 156.
Ireland, Sir George, 19, 93, 131.
Isabel, Countess of Essex, 11.
Isabel, daughter of Warwick, marries Clarence, 23, 215.
Isabell, sister of King Harry of Castile, married unto Ferdinand Prince of Arragon, 15.
Italy, lx, 173.

Jackson, Robert, 128.
James, King of Scots, 17, 258; breaks his alliance with Edward IV., 259; the Scots revolt, *ib.* n. 18.
Johns, Sir Lewis, 66 n. 88.
Josselyn, Ralph, 18.
Julius Cæsar, 44 n. 11.

Katherine, daughter of Edward IV., 152, 154, 238.
Kemp, Cardinal, Archbishop of Canterbury, xxx, xlvii.
Kent, 86, 129, 132.
Kent, Edmund Gray Earl of, 102.
Kent, William Neville Earl of, 102.
Kentish memorial, lxxiv.
Kidwelly, John Done of, 111.
Kingston Bridge, 88, 90, 129.
Kingston-upon-Hull, 40.
Kyme, Earl of, William Talbois, 14 n. 15, 106.
Kyriel, Sir Thomas, xx, xxviii.

Lacy, Master, 216.
Lancashire, 73, 77.
Langley, 26.
Langley Park, Kent, spring near, 135.
Laon, Bishop of, Ambassador from Lewis XI., 21.
Latimer, Harry, 111 n. 27.
Latimer, Lord, xxxvii, 24, 105 n. 6.
Lee, Alexander, 29 n. 38, 30, 117, 131.
Lee, Sir Richard, 93 n. 19, 235.
Leicester, xxiii. xxiv, xxix, xlix, 47, 122, 135.
Leland's Transcript necessary to read the names in Warkworth's Chronicle, 111.
Leukenor, Sir John, 127.
Lewis, Henry, 105 n. 6.
Lewis XI., King of France, 18, 116, 128 n. 63, 162 n. 11, 163, 164, 165, 169 n. 18, 170 n. 20, 229 n. 8, 233, 247, 248 n. 7.
Lewisham, Well at, 135.
Limerick, Davy ap Jenkin ap, 111.
Lincolnshire, 25, 39, 46, 113, 114.
Literature and Fine Arts encouraged, 146 n. 1; state of, 190, 199 n. 3, 201.
Littleton, Sir Thomas, 207 n. 7.
London, xxx; Edward IV. triumphal entry, 10; his return after his flight into Holland, 57; besieged by Falconbridge, 90, 129; relieved by Edward IV., 92; general staple, 161; the great mart of Europe, 173; visited by the Plague, 217; serious riots, lx.
Lorrain, Duke of, 165.
Losecote Field, 25, 114 n. 33.
Lovell, Lord, 255, 256.
Lovelace, Lord, deserts the Earl of Warwick, 6 n. 4.
Luccaens, lx.
Lucy, Sir William, lxxvii.
Ludlow spoiled by Henry VI., lxxi, 5.

Luebeck, 161.
Luxembourg ravaged, 165.
Lyle, Lord, xxxix, 257 n. 9.
Lynn, 117 n. 39, (Hanse Town Factory) 178.
Lyons, Archbishop of, 169.

Machinery repressed, 177.
Mackerel, Dr., 129.
Male Castle set on fire, 20.
Mallery, William, slain at Edgcote, 111.
Malmsbury, 75.
Manufactures, Inland, 175.
Mar, Earl of, 259 n. 18.
March, Roger Mortimer Earl of, xxxvi.
Margaret of Anjou, Queen to Henry VI., xiii n. 1; unpopularity of her marriage, xv; her conduct in the quarrel of the Duke of Suffolk, xxiii; her distress on learning his murder, xxix; welcomes the return of Somerset, xxxiv; suspects the true motives of York, xxxviii; her progress through Norfolk, xlv; birth of the Prince of Wales, xlvi; accompanies the King to Hertford, liii; her endeavour to break up the Yorkist confederacy, lxii; walks hand in hand with York in the procession of Concord and Unity, lxv; seeks to arrest Warwick, lxvii; seeks refuge after the battle of Northampton at Eccleshall, Harlech, and in Scotland, lxxii; lxxix; on York's being appointed Lord Protector, and heir to the throne, she raises an army in the North; lxxxii; Battle of Wakefield, lxxxiii; proceeds to York, lxxxiv; reaches St. Alban's, lxxxiv; Battle of St. Alban's, and recovery of the King's person, lxxxv; her bad policy in allowing the town to be plundered, lxxxv; wins the battle of St. Alban's, 6; sends to London for victuals, which are stopped by the Commons, 7; retreats to York, 7; attainted by parliament, 102 n. 2; escapes to Scotland, 9, 104 her unpopularity, 7 n. 5; returns into Scotland from France, 13, 17; meets Clarence and Warwick at Amboise, and is reconciled, 27 n. 35, 115; detained on the French coast by contrary winds, 56 n. 35, 126; lands at Weymouth, 69 n. 1, 126; proceeds to Bristol and Exeter, 70, 126; she sends out emissaries to mislead, 73; proscribed by Edward's proclamation, 74 n. 6; returns to Bristol, 75; changes her purpose and travels to Berkeley and Gloucester, 75; arrives at Tewkesbury, 77; her troops exhausted, 78 n. 8; Battle of Tewkesbury, 79 n. 10, 127; taken prisoner, 83 n. 15, 128 n. 63; conveyed to Edward IV. at Coventry, 84; imprisoned at Wallingford, 142; ransomed by Lewis, 169; incidentally mentioned, 229—239. *See* Angiers.
Margaret, sister to King Edward IV., 19. *See* Duchess of Burgundy.
Margaret, daughter to Edward IV., 154.

Market Street, 135.
Marney, Sir John, 20 n. 23.
Martin, 210.
Martigny, George, 148.
Mary, daughter of Edward IV., 154 n. 31, 258.
Mary of Geldres, 17.
Merchants, English, 177 n. 7. 178.
Merchants of the Staple, 178.
Merchants of the Stilliard or Steelyard, 161 n. 9, 174 n. 3.
Merrick, Yvan ap John ap, 111.
Michel's Mount, Cornwall, 138, 141.
Middle classes, rise of, 145.
Middleham, lxii.
Mile End, xxx.
Minories, The, 16.
Miracle of St. Anne, 54.
Moleyns, Lord, xxxvii, 106 n. 14.
Molins, Ad., Bishop of Chichester, xvi, xxi n. 7, xlvii.
Mondidier, 165.
Montacute, Earl of, lxxxv.
Montague, Marquis of, created Earl of Northumberland, 102; besieges Bamburgh Castle, lxxxvii, 14; marches with Henry VI., 14; made Warden of the Marshes, 14 n. 14; continues in the North, 15; his treason, 29, 30, 116; abides in Pomfret Castle, 43 n. 9; joins Warwick at Coventry, 53; slain at Barnet, 65, 124, 125 n. 56; his dead body exposed at St. Paul's, 67 n. 40, 126; buried at the Priory of Bisham, *ib.* n. 57; his property given to the Duke of Gloucester, 244 n. 4.
Montgomery, John, 12 n. 10, 13.
Montgomery, Sir Thomas, 156, 165 n, 16.
Montlhery, Battle of, 18.
Montreuil, 247.
Moore, Manor of the, 26, 136, 137.
Mortimer's Cross, Battle of, lxxxiv.
Morton, Dr., 142, 167, 191; Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, 196; sketch of his rise and progress, 197; his character, 198; appointed tutor to Edward Prince of Wales, 210; made Executor to Edward IV., 210; his influence at Court, 257.
Mountford, Osbert, lxviii.
Myles, Louis, 128.

Nailbourn, 135.
Nanci, Battle of, 169.
Nawarth Castle, 103, 105 n. 6.
Neville, Anne, (betrothed to Edward, Prince of Wales,) 128, 215, 232, 242 n. 2; marries Richard III., 243.

Neville, Charles, 112.
Neville, George, Bishop of Exeter, 106 n. 11. *See* Archbishop of York.
Neville, George, Duke of Bedford, 250 n. 9.
Neville, Isabella, Duchess of Clarence, 23, 215.
Neville, Sir Henry, 111, n. 27.
Neville, Sir Humphery, lxxxvii, 112.
Neville, Sir John, lxxi, 9 n. 8; made Lord Montague, 11 n. 9, 106 n. 13. *See* Montague, Marquis of.
Neville, Thomas, xxxvii.
Newark, 46 n. 13.
Newburgh, Sir William, 128.
Newham Bridge, 248.
Newport, John, 183.
Nicholas, Capt., xxiii.
Norfolk, 46, 121, 156.
Norfolk, Duchess of, 20.
Norfolk, Duke of, John Mowbray, xxxvi, liii, lxxxv, 8.
Norfolk, Duke of, John Mowbray's son, 11, 37, 184 n. 11, 184, 189.
Norfolk, Duke of, Thomas Howard, 22 n. 27. *See* Lord Howard.
Normandy lost, xvi, xxxi, 118, 134, 163, 280.
Norris, Sir William, 45 n. 12, 122.
Northampton, 56, 111.
Northampton, Battle of, lxxvii.
Northumberland, Earl of, li, lxiii; slain, 9, 107.
Northumberland, Earl of, lxxi.
Northumberland, Henry Percy, Earl of, 42, 43 n. 10, 44, 85, 107 n. 15, 116, 121.
Norwich, 156.
Nottingham, Earl of. *See* Richard, Duke of York.
Nottingham, 45 n. 12, 46, 47, 122 n. 51, 229.
Novgorod, 161.
Nuz, Siege of, 165 n. 15, 16, 167.

Oldhall, Sir William, liv, lxxi.
Olney, 111 n. 29.
Organ, Harry, 111 n. 26.
Ormond, the Earl of, 119.
Ormond, Thomas, 129.
Oxfordshire, 74.
Oxford, Twelfth Earl of, beheaded, 12, 108.
Oxford, Thirteenth Earl of, committed to the Tower, 20 n. 23; flies into Normandy, 29; opposes Edward IV. landing, 37; proceeds to Newark, 46 n. 13; his partial success at Barnet, 64 n. 34, 124; his escape into Scotland, 66, 125, 138 n. 78; letter to his Countess, 72 n. 5; proscribed by proclamation, 74 n. 6; arraigns the Earl of Worcester, 120; enters Mount St. Michel, 138 n. 79;

is besieged, 139 n. 80; his garrison bribed, 139, 141; yields himself to the King's grace, 140 n. 81; attainted, 140 n. 81, 279; imprisoned at Hammes, 141 n. †; his escape, 141; his estates restored under Henry VII., 141; died in the reign of Henry VIII., 141.

Packenham, 109 n. 21.
Painting, 212.
Pardon, general, xxx, 112, 142.
Parker, John, 129.
Parliaments, xxi, xxiii.
Parliaments, First, 11 n. 8, 36 n. 1, 40 n. 5, 102 n. 2, 105 n. 7, 119, 133, 142, 160, 162, 243—245, 251, 272.
Parr, Sir Thomas, lxxi, 45 n. 12.
Parr, Sir William, 46, 137.
Paston, Sir John, Battle of Tewkesbury, 79 n. 10, 141; Letters, 184—190 n. 16; contents of his library, 199, 200 n. 4.
Payn, John, Letter respecting Cade's Rebellion, xxxi—xxxiv.
Peacock, 210.
Pecquigni, Bridge of, 169 n. 19.
Peers, Creation of, 101.
Pembroke, Earl of. *See* Lord Herbert.
Pembroke, Jasper Tudor Earl of, xlviii, li, lxxxiv, 73, 77, 79 n. 10. 119, 142, 279.
Penley, 217.
Pentheviere, Count, xliv.
Percy, Sir Ralph, 105 n. 6.
Peronne, 165, 167.
Petition of the Commons, 219—222.
Philip, Sir Matthew, 18, 93 n. 19, 131.
Philip, son of the Archduke Maximilian, 258.
Pigot, Sir Roger, 111.
Pikton, Harry Done, 111 n. 26.
Plantagenet, Henry, eldest son of Richard Duke of York, 212 n. 1.
Plantagenet, William, the fourth son, 214 n. 1.
Plantagenet, John, the fifth son, 214 n. 1.
Plantagenet, Edward, Earl of Warwick, last of the, 245, 252.
Plummer, Sir John, 108.
Pomfret, Castle of, 43 n. 9, 182.
Pomiers, Count de, lxiii.
Pont de l'Arche, xx.
Pontefract, 45 n. 12.
Popaurcote, Sir John, 22.
Portsmouth, 69.
Portugal, 86.
Portugal, Don John of, 161.

Post, The, established, 179.
Powis, Lord, lxxi.
Powle, 38.
Poyning, Sir Edward, lxxxiv.
Poyntz, John, 20 n. 23.
Printing, invention of, 146.
Procession of Concord and Unity, 1458, lxvi.
Proclamations, xvi, 225, 226, 229, 238—240, 279.

Quarr Abbey (Ryde, Isle of Wight,) Cicely, daughter of Edward IV., buried at, 154.

Ravenspurn, 38, 121.
Reading, 74.
Reddesdale, Robin of, 25 n. 32, 110 n. 23, 218.
René d'Anjou, xvi.
Rennes cloth, 149 n. 14.
Ribaire, Sir Bartelot de, 18.
Richard II., 38, 161; troubles resulting from the reign of, 219, 264.
Richard III., *see* Gloucester.
Richmond, Henry Tudor Earl of, 142, 197, 262, 263, 280.
Richmond King-at-Arms, 150.
Rivers, Anthony Woodville (Lord Scales) Earl of, lxxii, 30, 38, 51, 90, 114, 129, 153, 167; his patronage of learning, and of Caxton the first English printer, 207; his works enumerated, 208 n. 9; beheaded at Pontefract, 209; his love of literature, 210; incidentally mentioned, 246, 253, 255, 256, 257, 264 n. 23.
Rivers, Earl of, Richard Woodville, lxxi, lxxii, 16, 106; beheaded, 25, 111; incidentally mentioned, 219.
Rivers, Lady, 148 n. 11.
Rochester, 130.
Roll, The, to the High and Mighty Prince Richard Duke of Gloucester, (Appendix) 272; retrospect of former Kings, 273; Edward's marriage disputed, 274; his children therefore illegitimate, 275; Clarence being attainted of treason, his children disabled from inheriting the Crown, *ib.*; Richard the rightful heir, 276; chosen king, *ib.*; his right recognized by parliament, 277; the succession settled on his son Edward and his heirs, 278.
Roos, Sir Henry, 129.
Roos, Thomas, Lord, lxxxiv, lxxxv, 14, 106 n. 14.
Ross or Rous, John, of Warwick, 191; his literary works, 194.
Rostock, 161.
Rotheram, Archbishop, 197, 210, 257 n. 11.
Rouen, xx.
Rous, Oliver, 22.
Roye, 165.

Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, 210, 257 n. 14.
Rutheland, 125 n.
Rutland, Duke of (brother to Edward IV.) lxx, lxxi, 8 n. 7, 212; slain at the battle of Wakefield, lxxxiii, 213.

Salisbury, 73, 109.
Salisbury, Countess of, lxxi, lxxiii.
Salisbury, Richard, Earl of, xxxvi; quarrels with Lord Egremont, xxxv; joins the conspiracy with York and Warwick, xlviii, 1; after the first battle of St. Alban's, made Lord Chancellor, liii, liv, lvi; resigns the seals, lix; accepts the King's invitation to Coventry, lxii; proceeds to Middleham, lxii; attends the assembling of the rival Peers, lxiii; walks with Somerset in the proceesion, lxv, lxvi; conspires again with York and Warwick, lxvii; gains the battle of Bloreheath, lxvii; accompanied Edward (*the Fourth*) into Devonshire, lxx, 5; attainted of treason, lxxi; proceeds to Calais, lxxi; his personal abuse to Lord Rivers, lxxii; enters London, 1460, lxxvi; besieges the Tower, lxxvii; Battle of Wakefield, lxxxii; beheaded at Pontefract, lxxxiii.
Sandal, lix, 43.
Sandwich, 95, 130, 131.
Say, Lord, beheaded by Cade, xxx.
Say, Lord, escapes with Edward to Flanders, 117, 118, 121; slain at Barnet, 66, 125.
Scales, Anthony Lord, xxx, lxxi, lxxvi, lxxvii, 19 n. 21, 28, 219. *See* Rivers.
Scarborough, 25.
Scotsburgh, Jenkin Perot ap, 111.
Scrope, Lady, 120 n. 47.
Sculpture, 211.
Sea, Martin of the, 40.
Sendal, Castle of, lix, 43.
Sentlow, Sir John, 129.
Shaftesbury, 73.
Shaw, Edmond, 177 n. 7.
Sheen, Palace of, lix.
Shore, Jane, 190.
Shrewsbury, Earl of, xxxviii, lxxvii, lxxxv, 9 n. 8, 117 n. 41.
Sodberry, 75, 76.
Somerset, Edmund Duke of, Lieutenant of France, xvii; his credence for succours, xvii; surrenders Rouen, xx, and Caen, xxii; returns from France, xxxiv; his pedigree, xxxv; his differences with the Duke of York, xxxvii; Council at Coventry to reconcile them, xxxviii; affray at Coventry, xxxviii; York's letter to the citizens of Shrewsbury against him, xl; ordered into custody, xlii; but still retains his office, xliii; recommends the placing of

York in custody, xliii; he is sent to the Tower by York, xlvii; released upon the King's recovery, xlix; supersedes York in the government of Calais, xlviii; accompanied the King against the rebel Lords, li; slain at St. Alban's, lii, 17, 18, 19 n. 22, 20, 56 n. 23, 71, 74 n. 6, 79 n. 10, 80, 83 n. 14, 115, 119, 126.

Somerset, Henry Duke of, outlawed, lvi; attends the meeting of the peers in 1457, lxiii; walks hand in hand with the Earl of Salisbury in the procession to St. Paul's, lxv, lxvi; appointed to supersede Warwick in the command of Calais, lxxi; the ill success of his attempts to take it, lxxi, lxxiii; retires to Dieppe after the battle of Northampton, lxxix; assembles the royal forces at Pontefract, lxxxiii; he defeats the Duke of York, who is slain at Wakefield, lxxxiii. iv; at the second battle of St. Alban's, lxxxiv; submits to Edward IV., 13, 14 n. 15, 105 n. 6, 106 n. 13, 115.

Somerset, Lord John of Somerset, 17, 56, 79 n. 10, 82, 119, 126, 127, 280.

Somersetshire, 70, 111.

Southampton, 69, 114.

Springs, swelling of, 134.

St. Alban's, 58, 135.

St. Alban's, battle of, li; second battle of, lxxxv, 6.

St. Dunstan's in the East, 196.

St. George's Fields, 89.

St. John, Lord, 79 n. 10, 127.

St. John of Jerusalem, Prior of, (Sir John Longstrother,) 56, 69, 83 n. 14.

St. Katherine's near the Tower, 88.

St. Leger, Sir Thomas, 167, 214.

St. Loe, Sir John, 129.

St. Martin's-le-Grand, 70, 242.

St. Michael's Mount, 138, 39, 40, 41.

St. Osyth, 141.

St. Omer's, 247, 248, 249.

St. Paul's, xliii, 58, 60, 67.

St. Pierre, Lord, 168.

St. Pol, Constable de, 163, 164, 167, 169.

St. Quentin, 164, 167.

St. Quentin taken by Louis, 247.

St. Thomas, Brotherhood of, Charter, 179.

Stacey, 248.

Stacy, Louis, 148.

Stafford, John, lxxvii.

Stafford, Lord Humphrey, xxx, li, lii, lxiv, 24, 109 n. 22, 110, 111, 217, 219, 256.

Stafford, Sir H., xxx.

Stair, xxvii, lviii.

Stalbroke, Sir Thomas, 93 n. 19, 131.
Stanley, Lord, lxxvii, 117 n. 41, 164, 166, 197, 256 n. 5, 263.
Stanley, Sir William, 45 n. 12, 122.
Steers, Richard, 20 n. 23.
Stillington, Robert, Bishop of Bath, 106 n. 11, 210, 216 n. 2, 217, 257 n. 12, 262
Stoker, Sir John, 93 n. 19, 131.
Stokton, Sir John, 93 n. 19, 131.
Stony Stratford, 16.
Storie, Edward, Bishop of Carlisle, 210 n. 11.
Stowe, John, Chronicle of, 35.
Stratford, Abbey of, 156.
Strozzi, Lorenzo, Eng. Consul at Pisa, 179.
Sudeley, Lord, lii.
Suffolk, 46.
Suffolk, William de la Pole, Duke of, negociates the marriage of Henry IV. and Margaret, xiii; his unpopularity in consequence, xvii; defends himself in parliament, xxi; his character, 21; he is impeached and banished, xxii; his murder, xxii, xxvii, xxix; buried at Wingfield, xxviii. 118.
Suffolk, Elizabeth Duchess of, 50 n. 19, 128 n. 63, 213 n. 1.
Suffolk, Earl of, 252.
Suffolk, Margaret Countess of, 252 n. 15.
Sussex, 132.
Swynford, Dame Katherine, 280.

Tadcaster, 42.
Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, recovers Bordeaux, Bordelais, and Chatillon, xliii; his death, xliv.
Talbot, Sir John, Lord Lisle, accompanies his father, xliii; his death, xliv.
Talbot, John, of Salisbury, 108, 181.
Talbot, Sir Edmund, 108.
Talbot, Sir Thomas, 108 n. 1.
Taunton, 73.
Taylor, Sir William, lxiv, 93 n. 19, 131, 177 n. 7.
Tempest, Sir John, of Bracewell, 108 n. 1.
Temple Bar, lxiii.
Tewkesbury, 73, 76, 77, 79 n. 10, 83, 127, 129.
Tewkesbury, Battle of, 80 n. 11, 127 n. 59.
Thames, River, 88.
Thanet, Isle of, 141.
Thornhill, John, 28.
Thorpe, Mr. Speaker, lvi.
Throgmorton, John, lxxxiv, 129.
Tiptoft, John. *See* Earl of Worcester.

Tonnage and Poundage, 224.
Tournament at Smithfield, 19 n. 21.
Tower of London, 59.
Towton, Battle of, lxxxvi, 9.
Tresham, Harry, 128.
Tresham, Sir Thomas, arrested, 20 n. 23; beheaded, 83, 128.
Tresham, William, xxxiv.
Trevylian, Daniel, 118.
Troloppe, Sir Andrew, lxxix.
Tudenham, Sir Thomas, 12 n. 10, 108.
Tudor, Owen, lxxxiv.
Tunstall, Sir Richard, 105.
Turner, Sharon, vi.
Tutbury, lix.
Twyndowe, Anckenett, 245 n. 5, 250.
Tyrrel, Sir J., 242.
Tyrrel, Sir William, 12 n. 10, 13, 66 n. 38, 125.

Ulston, Rise ap Morgan ap, 111.
Ursewick, Sir Thomas, 93 n. 19, 123—131.
Ursula, daughter of Richard Duke of York, 214 n. 1.
Utrecht, 6, 161; congress of, 178.

Valanges, xxi.
Vane, Dame Katherine, 128.
Vaughan, Sir Richard, 150.
Vaughan, Sir Roger, 111.
Vaughan, Thomas, 137.
Vaughan, Thomas ap Richard, 111 n. 26.
Vaughan, Watkin Thomas, 111 n. 26.
Vaux, Sir William, 127.
Venables, Sir Hugh, lxviii.
Venetians, lx.
Vere, Henry Lord Aubrey, accuses his father of treason, 11; beheaded, 12, 108.
Verneuil, xx.
Verney, Sir Ralph, 93 n. 19, 131.
Void, The, 150 n. 18.

Waddington, Hull, 14 n. 16, 108.
Waffir, (Waver) Harry, 18.
Wainfleet, William, 117, 210.
Wakefield, 43, 45.
Wakefield, Battle of, lxxxiii.
Wakes, Thomas, 111.
Wales, 73.

Walis, John, 129.
Walsingham, 156 n. 3.
Warbeck, Perkin, 61 n. 30.
Warkworth Castle, 103.
Warkworth's, (Dr. John) Chronicles, 101; end of, 140; sketch of his life, 207.
Warren and Surrey, Earl of. *See* Richard Duke of York, son of Edward IV.
Warren, Richard, 227.
Warwick, 48, 50.
Warwick Castle, 112.
Warwick, Countess of, 56, 69 n. 2, 242, 243.
Warwick, Edward Earl of, murdered by Henry VII., 245.
Warwick, Richard Neville, Earl of, at Leicester with 400 followers, in 1450, xxix; supports the Duke of York, xxxvii; enters into the Yorkist conspiracy, xlviii; marches towards London, l; Battle of St. Albans, li; appointed to the government of Calais, liii; goes to Hunsdon, liv; his quarrel with Lord Cromwell, lvi; retires into Yorkshire, lix; accepts the King's invitation to Coventry, lxii; proceeds to Calais, lxii; attends the assembling of the rival peers, lxiii; appointed to keep the sea, lxv; walks with the Duke of Exeter in the procession to St. Paul's, lxv, lxvi; attacked by the blackguards, lxvii; proceeds to Calais, lxvii; Warwick's articles of justification, lxviii; reasons for declining the King's pardon, lxix; accompanies Edward (the Fourth) into Devonshire, lxx, 5; attainted of high treason, lxxi; escapes to Calais, lxxi; retains the place against the efforts of the Duke of Somerset, lxxii; crosses the sea to Ireland and to Calais, lxxiii; lands at Sandwich, lxxiv; arrives in London, lxxvi; Battle of Northampton, lxxvii; second Battle of St. Albans, lxxxv; meets Edward IV. at Cotswold, 6; proceeds to London, 7; at the siege of Bamburgh, lxxxvi, 14; sent into France to demand the Princess Bona in marriage for Edward IV., 105 n. 9; continues in the North, 15; godfather to the Princess Royal, 18; cause of his quarrel with Edward IV., 18 n. 20, 23, 106; conducts the Princess Margaret to Bruges, 20; sent ambassador to Louis XI., 21 n. 24 and 25, 23; remains twelve days and returns to England, *ib.* n. 26; his vast power, possessions, and titles, 23 n. 28, 106; gets the King into his power at Hedgecote field, 24 n. 30; conspires with Clarence, 26, 112 n. 30, 113; his treason detected, he flies with his wife into Normandy, 26, 114 n. 33, 224; treats with Margaret, 115; goes with Clarence to Amboise and welcomed by Louis, 27, 116; returns to England and raises an army, 116; opposes Edward IV.'s return, 37; restores Henry VI., 40, 41; proceeds into Warwickshire, 47; made lieutenant of England by Henry VI., 47 n.

14; refuses to fight Edward at Coventry, 48 n. 17, 54 n. 22, 122; rejects his overtures, 50, 228; gathers his party round him, 53; his popularity at Calais, 53 n. 21; sends letters to London and Archbishop of York, 57; pursues Edward IV. through Northampton, 61; meets Edward at Barnet, 62 n. 31, 124; his defeat and death, 65 n. 35 and 36, 125; his body exposed after death, 67 n. 40, 126 n. 57; the manner and guiding of the Earl of Warwick at Angiers, 229, 241.
Warwickshire, 47.
Water, Robert, 106 n. 14.
Wells, 73.
Welles, Lord, son of Richard Lord Welles, 25 n. 33, 112 n. 31, 113 n. 32, 114.
Welles, Richard Lord, lviii, lxxxiv, 9 n. 8.
Welles, Sir Robert, 112 n. 31, 224, 226, 227.
Welshmen slain at Edgecote, 24 n. 30, 110 n. 24.
Wemere, 134 n. 73.
Wenlock, Lord, lxxi, lxxiii, 56, 69, 79 n. 10, 82, 127.
Wentworth, Sir Philip, liv, 106 n. 14.
Westerdale, John, 38 n. 3, 40, 121.
Westminster, 60, 88, 112, 117.
Westminster, Abbot of, 120 n. 47.
Westminster, Prior of, 120 n. 47.
Westmoreland, Earl of, slain, 9.
Weymouth, 69, 126 n. 58.
Whittingham, Sir Robert, 127.
Wight, Isle of, 183.
Wigmore, lxii.
Willoughby, Lord, lviii, lxxxiv, 112, 113.
Wiltshire, 70.
Wiltshire, Earl of, 9.
Winchester, Bishop of, 117, 210.
Winchester, Hospital of St. Cross, xiv.
Winchester, Earl of, 150.
Windsor, 26, 74.
Windsor Castle, description of, 147.
Windsor Castle, St. George's Chapel, 24.
Wingfield, Dame Anne, 156.
Winstone, 217.
Wolvesey, Palace of, xv n. 4.
Woodville, Sir Edward, 279.
Woodville, Sir John, brother to the Queen, 18; beheaded, 25 n. 11. 219.
Wool, staple commodity, 173 n. 2.
Woollen goods, 173.
Worcester, 73, 83, 84, 114 n. 34 and 35, 115.

Worcester, John Tiptoft Earl of, xxxvii, lxxxviii, 29 n. 37, 36 n. 1, 108, 119 n. 45, 191; list of his works, 192 n. 2, 193; literary character, 194.
Writtil, 184 n. 12, 186.
Wrottesley, Russell, Sir Walter, 127.
Wyrcester, William, 188, 199 n. 1; list of his works, 192.

Yelverton, Sir W., 184 n. 11.
Yeovil, 74.
Yonge, Thomas, xxxvi.
York, City of, 39, 40, 41, 44, 85, 112; proclamation, 116 n. 37, 121.
York, Duchess of, taken at Ludlow, 5; sent to her sister, 6; stands godmother to the Princess Royal, 18; mediates between Edward IV. and Clarence, 50 n. 19, 61; her large family, 212 n. 1.
York, George Neville, Archbishop of, lxx, lxxvi, lxxviii; invites Edward IV. to the Palace of the Moor, 26 n. 34, 112 n. 30; takes his seat in the parliament of Henry VI., 119; opposes Edward IV. entry into London, 57 n. 26; conducts Henry VI. through the city, 58 n. 27, 133; his double dealing, 59, 123 n. 54, 137; delivers Henry VI. up to Edward IV. 60; visits the King at Windsor, 136; purveys for the King's visit to the Moor, 136; his possessions confiscated, 137, 159; arrested 156 n. 75; imprisoned and dies in the castle of Hammes, 137, 142, 159.
York, Richard, Duke of, xxiii.; personal hatred of Suffolk, xxiv; cause of his murder, xxv; arrives with an armed force from Ireland, xxxiv; enters London, xxxiv; his pedigree, xxxvi; his chief supporters, xxxvii; differences with Somerset, xxxvii; goes to Ludlow, xxxix; his petition to the King, xxxix; letter to the citizens of Shrewsbury, xl; marches to London and into Kent, xlii; submits, and is pardoned, xliii; he assumes the reigns of government on the King's illness, xlvi; made Lord Protector, xlviii; and governor of Calais, xlviii; he is disgraced, *ib.*; forms a conspiracy, xlix; he commences the Civil War, and marches towards London, l; first battle of St. Alban's won by him, lii; he is made Constable of England, liii; he takes a fresh oath of allegiance, lvii; he is appointed Lord Protector, lviii; creates peers, lviii; discharged from his office, lix; supposed to have caused the riots, in 1456, lx; invited to meet the king at Coventry, but suspecting the object of the Queen, retires to Wigmore, lxii; arrives in London to attend the meeting of the rival peers, lxiii; leads the Queen in the procession to St. Paul's, lxv; he prepares for war, lxviii; assembles his followers at Ludeford, lxviii; his disgraceful conduct, and flight from Ludlow, lxx, 5; he is attainted, lxxi; well received in Ireland, lxxii; returns from Ireland, and employed in punishing loyalty to the King, as a crime against the people, lxxviii; advances his

claim to the crown, lxxix; his haughty and treasonable behaviour, lxxx; he is proclaimed heir to the throne, and made Lord Protector for life, lxxxii; spends his Christmas at Sandel Castle, lxxxiii; death at Wakefield, lxxxiii, 6; his head placed on the gate at York, lxxxiii; incidentally mentioned, 38, 40, 41, 42; his large family, 212, 213.

York, Richard Duke of, son of Edward IV., 152; married in childhood to Anne, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, 258 n. 15; Earl of Warren and Surrey, and Earl of Nottingham, *ib.*

Yorkshire, insurrection of, 110 n. 23.

Young, Sir John, 93 n. 19, 131.

Zeland, 36.

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